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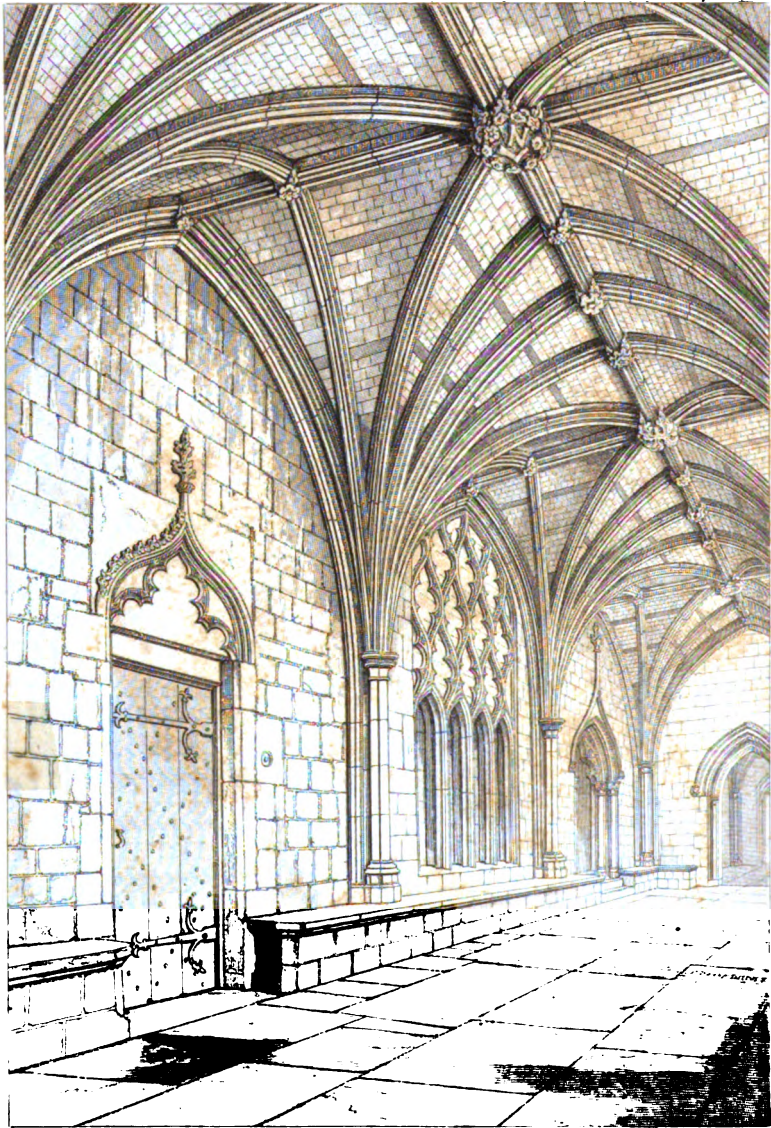
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*Gleanings from
Westminster Abbey*
George Gilbert Scott



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W. H. R. 1851

PART OF THE SOUTH WALK OF THE CLOISTERS WESTMINSTER ABBEY

SHOWING PART OF THE MASONRY OF THE 12TH CENTURY — WITH WALL & DETAILS OF THE 15TH

©

GLEANINGS

FROM

WESTMINSTER ABBEY,

BY

GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT. R.A., F.S.A.

WITH APPENDICES, SUPPLYING FURTHER PARTICULARS, AND
COMPLETING THE HISTORY OF THE ABBEY BUILDINGS,

BY

W. BURGESS, F.R.I.B.A.	J. J. HOWARD, F.S.A.	J. H. PARKER, F.S.A.
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W. H. HART, F.S.A.	H. MOGFORD, F.S.A.	REV. PROFESSOR WILLIS, M.A.

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TO THE VERY REVEREND
RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D.D.,

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER,

This Collection of Essays,

TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF THE ABBEY,

IS, WITH HIS KIND PERMISSION, RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE EDITOR.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE rapid sale of the first edition of this work makes no apology necessary for the publication of a second edition; rather, perhaps, some explanation is required of the long delay which has occurred in producing it. This has arisen from the time required by the engravers for the number of new illustrations; and full advantage has been taken of this for the elaborate researches of Mr. Burges in the new and admirable papers which he has added to the volume. These have indeed required more time than was expected, but the reader will be well satisfied with the result, and the inconvenience of a few months' delay has been cheaply purchased by the addition of so much valuable matter. The papers added to the present edition are those on the Metal-work, the Mosaic Pavements, the Retabulum, the Sedilia, the Coronation Chair, the Shrine, and the Tombs.

When the first edition appeared, the critics, whose business it is to make mountains of molehills, discovered half a dozen palpable misprints which they magnified into grave errors; and as they observed that the name of the Editor was not given, they very unjustly held Mr. Scott responsible for these errors.

The Editor had no wish to avoid his proper responsibility, and the only reason for not giving his name in the first instance was that all the parties concerned were perfectly well acquainted with it, and it was a matter of no public interest, while if given at all it seemed to require some explanation; but as this has been called

for it is now given. Mr. J. H. Parker happened accidentally to be present when his friend Mr. Scott gave his Lecture on the Abbey, and was called upon by him to make some additional observations. This circumstance called his attention forcibly to the words with which Mr. Scott had concluded, in which he suggested that the outline which he had given should be filled up by others whose time was not so fully occupied as his own. After the meeting was over, Mr. Parker proposed to Mr. Scott to endeavour to carry out this suggestion—to publish his sketch with engravings to illustrate it, and get all the help he could to fill out the details. Mr. Scott assented cheerfully to the plan, and lent his drawings to be engraved. They have acted cordially together throughout, and the notes added by Mr. Parker, as Editor, were made with Mr. Scott's entire consent and approbation, as this appeared more convenient than making any alteration in the text. They had at first expected that the Papers read by others on the same occasion would have supplied most of the additional information that was required; in this expectation they were disappointed, and other friends were asked to supply the deficiencies.

There are still some subjects omitted which might very well have been included, but they were fearful of increasing the bulk of the volume too much; and these Gleanings do not profess to be a complete history of the Abbey; they are rather intended as a supplement to other larger and more elaborate works, merely supplying in a popular form such information as is not readily accessible.

THE TURL, OXFORD,
May 1, 1863.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THIS little volume owes its origin to a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held on the 25th of October, 1860, in the Precincts of the Abbey, where the Society were most kindly and cordially received by the Dean and Chapter. On that occasion Mr. Scott's admirable paper on the architectural history, which he modestly calls "Gleanings," was repeated, having previously been delivered to the Institute of British Architects. This paper relates chiefly to the church, with slight notices of the other buildings, and concludes with a suggestion that these notices should be enlarged and more thoroughly worked out. The other papers read upon the same occasion, and which are here added as an Appendix to Mr. Scott's paper, go a good way to supply the want which he pointed out; and the few connecting links which were still wanting have since been furnished by the kindness of Mr. Weare and others interested in the subject. The Fabric Roll of 1253 had fortunately been discovered by Mr. Burt a short time before in the Public Record Office, together with some others of less importance, but not without value, which are included in the Appendix, together with the admirable notes of Professor Willis, explaining the technical terms, and making that generally intelligible which without this help was a sealed book to most readers. The authentic accounts of the building of the nave in the fifteenth century (see p. 212),

and the circumstance that the celebrated Lord Mayor Whittington was one of the Royal Commissioners, and the one who advanced the money for that purpose on the security of certain dues, as stated in the deed here reprinted, are not entirely new facts in the history of the Abbey, but are certainly not generally known. The particulars respecting the abbot's house, opportunely supplied by Mr. Corner, and the division of it into the Deanery, the College Hall, and the Jerusalem Chamber, as explained by Mr. Hugo and Mr. Weare, have not previously been made out so clearly. The notice of the Modern Buildings within the Abbey precincts, supplied by the Rev. Mackenzie Walcott, brings down the history of the buildings of Westminster Abbey to the present time.

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GLEANINGS FROM WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

A LECTURE DELIVERED TO THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH
ARCHITECTS, BY GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, R.A.



Westminster Abbey Church, from the Bayeux Tapestry.

I HAVE given my Paper this title with the intention of expressing that it is intended in no degree as an historical, architectural, or antiquarian treatise on this magnificent building, but simply as a casual notice of objects or subjects connected with it which have occurred to me as being less known or less generally noticed than they deserve. I had long ago thought of writing such a paper, but during the interval my intention has been in great degree forestalled, both by my having occasion myself at several times to call attention to many of the points I have now to notice, and by the interesting discussion introduced some years back at this Insti-

tute, by Professor Donaldson, on the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

Though I use the word 'Gleanings,' I do not mean to imply that the harvest is over. On the contrary, the antiquarian and documentary part of the subject is, I am convinced, not only unexhausted, but scarcely entered upon; we really know next to nothing of the actual history of this, the most nationally interesting of English churches.

The information given us in the published histories is meagre in the extreme, while the Public Records and the Archives preserved in the church seem till lately to have been only very partially searched for information as to its structural history; but happily, while my Paper has been in hand much has been done to supply this want by my kind and able friend, Mr. Burt, at the Record Office, which I shall have to allude to as I go on.

All we know of the earliest history of the fabric is, that there existed a church here in the days of King Offa, and that this (or a successor of it) was rebuilt, and the Abbey re-founded, by Edward the Confessor. One of the first thoughts which occur to us in considering the history of our Abbey is, then, the question as to what kind of church was that which preceded the present structure, and which we know to have been erected by this sainted monarch. As, for example, what were its size and form? Was it on the small scale which appears to have been common among Saxon buildings, or of the gigantic dimensions adopted by the Normans? And, again, was its architecture more on the Saxon or on the Norman type?

William of Malmesbury, writing in the following century, speaks of it as "that church which he, the first in England, had erected in that mode of composition which now nearly all emulate, in its costly expenditure;" or, in other words, it was the earliest *Norman* church.

Matthew Paris, in the thirteenth century, merely adapts the same statement to his own times, saying that the Confessor "was buried in the church which he had constructed in that mode of composition from which many of those after-

wards constructing churches, taking example, had emulated in its costly expenditure ;" evidently considering its style the same as that of the Norman churches with which he was surrounded.

Sir Christopher Wren gives us, as he says from an ancient manuscript, the following particulars :—

"The principal area^a or nave of the church, being raised high, and vaulted with square and uniform ribs, is turned circular to the east; this on each side is strongly fortified with a double vaulting of the aisles in two stories, with their pillars and arches: the cross building contrived to contain the choir in the middle, and the better to support the lofty tower, rose with a plainer and lower vaulting, which tower, then spreading with artificial winding stairs, was continued with plain walls to its timber roof, which was well covered with lead^b."

^a [It would appear that in the transcript of this MS. used by Wren this word was written *area*, instead of *ara*. *Domus ara*, literally the house of the Altar, obviously means the choir, whereas Wren has taken it for the area, or nave, which makes an important difference. From other passages it is clear that the choir was the only part finished at the time of the dedication.—ED.]

^b Since reading my paper my attention has been called to the "Lives of Edward the Confessor" among the documents published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. In one of these I find the original of the passage referred to by Sir Christopher Wren. It runs thus :—

"Principalis aræ domus altissimis erecta fornicibus quadrato opere parique commissura circumvolvitur; abitus autem ipsius sedis dupplici lapidum arcu ex utroque latere hinc et inde fortiter solidata operis compage clauditur. Porro crux templi quæ medium canentium Deo chorum ambiret, et sui gemina hinc et inde sustentatione mediæ turris celsum apicem fulciret, humili primum et robusta fornice simpliciter surgit, coelestis multipliciter ex arte ascendentibus plurimis tumescit, deinde vero simplici muro usque ad tectum ligneum plumbo diligenter tectum pervenit. Subter vero et supra dispositæ educuntur domicilia, memoriis apostolorum, martyrium, confessorum, ac virginum consecranda per sua altaria. Hæc autem multiplicitas tam vasti operis tanto spatio ab oriente ordita est veteris templi, ne scilicet interim inibi commorantes fratres vacarent a servitio Christi, ut etiam aliqua pars spatiosæ subiret interjaciendi vestibuli."

I may mention that the document in which this occurs was written between the death of the Confessor and of Queen Edith, (i.e. between 1065 and 1074). In the same volume occurs a description of the old monastery, written during the reign of Henry III. It is in Norman-French verse, and the following is the translation given :—

"Now he laid the foundations of the church with large square blocks of grey stone; its foundations were deep, the front towards the east he makes round, the stones are very strong and hard, in the centre rises a tower, and two at the west front, and fine and large bells he hangs there. The pillars and entablature are rich without and within, at the bases and capitals the work rises grand and royal,

From the above, one would by no means infer that the church was of small dimensions, and I am very much disposed to think that it may have been nearly, or quite, as large in its elementary scale as the present structure. Edward the Confessor having spent so much of his early life in Normandy, it is unlikely that he should be content with the dimensions of a Saxon church; indeed, had he been so, he had one to his hand without building a new one; and as he was greatly enlarging the monastic establishment, it seems probable that in rebuilding the Abbey church he would adopt the scale which was becoming common in Normandy. Harold, we have every reason to believe, did the same in building his church at Waltham; for whatever may be the merits of the disputed question as to whether any part of his work yet remains, there can be no doubt that his choir, at least for a time, co-existed with the present nave, and agreed with it in elementary scale. Again, we have no reason to believe that the choir of Westminster Abbey was rebuilt between the days of Edward the Confessor and those of Henry III., which would have been inevitably the case had its scale been diminutive; and, if it did exist through that interval, we have full proof that it was as long as the present eastern arm of the church; for the present position of the transept we know to be identical with that of the Con-

sculptured are the stones and storied the windows; all are made with skill of a good and loyal workmanship; and when he finished the work, with lead the church completely he covers, he makes there a cloister, a chapter-house in front, towards the east, vaulted and round, . . . Refectory and dormitory and the offices in the tower." (The expression "*les officines entur*" does not, I believe, mean "the offices in the tower," but the offices around or in due course.)

From the first extract it is evident that the eastern portions of the Confessor's church were erected previously to the demolition of the old church, and so far to the eastward of it as to allow of a large portion of the nave being built between them, probably as an abutment to the central tower. From the second it will be seen that, when completed, there were two towers at the west end of the nave, but neither of them afford full evidence of the completion of the nave by the Confessor himself, though the use by the earlier writer of the words "*mediæ turris*" seems to imply either the existence or the intention of erecting others. It is, however, manifest that they were not erected by the Confessor, as the western part of the nave is expressly stated to have been left standing to avoid the interruption of the services, and as the Confessor died immediately after the consecration of the new building, the work could not possibly have been carried on till afterwards.—G. G. S.

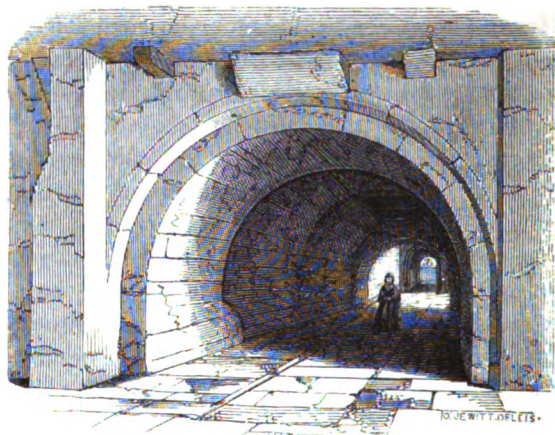
fessor's church, from the fact of the remains of his dormitory abutting against it in the usual manner; while the eastward extent of the old church is defined almost with certainty by the fact that the Lady-chapel was erected against it in the early days of Henry III., some years before he commenced rebuilding the church itself. The dimensions of the ancient nave are less easy of conjecture. The width, I think it probable, would have agreed with the existing one; and if the Confessor adopted, as I imagine, the usual scale of the great churches of the Normans, there is no reason to suppose it to have been much shorter than at present,—an opinion which is to a certain extent corroborated by the size of the cloister court, the north and east sides of which would have been defined by the external walls of the nave and the dormitory, and its southern limits by the refectory, in which there exist early remnants sufficient to shew that it occupies its original site. The completion of the square thus marked out carries us to within three bays of the western towers; and as cloisters rarely reached the end of a nave, it leaves it as a probable inference that the old nave did not fall short of the length of that now existing.

At St. Alban's and Winchester, which were erected within the same century, the elementary scale, or width from centre to centre of the piers, is about the same, the length of nave considerably in excess, and the original length of the Norman choir also greater. The structural choir, or eastern arm, at Westminster, is in fact so short as to preclude the idea of its having been rebuilt during the later Norman period, being less than that of many early Norman choirs.

We now come, however, to surer ground: I mean the portions of the Confessor's work which still exist. These consist of the substructure of the dormitory, forming a long range of building running southwards from, and in a line with, the south transept, and passing under the library and the great school-room, which now occupy the position of the ancient dormitory.

The substructure is vaulted in two spans, and is divided longitudinally by a range of massive round columns, the whole

being seven and a-half bays, or about 110 feet, in length from the vestibule of the chapter-house to the cross passage now leading into the little cloister, and formerly to the infirmary.



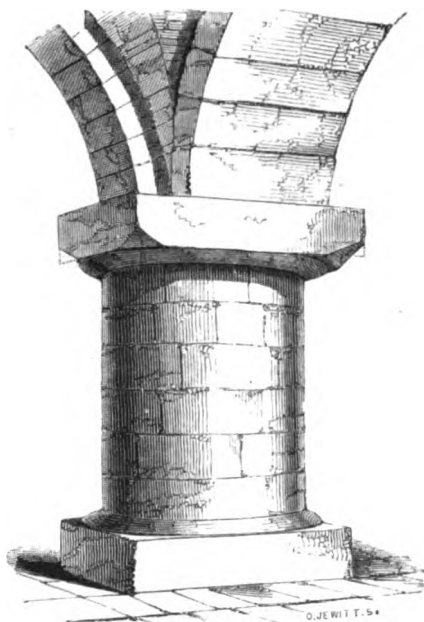
Archway in the Dark Cloister, Westminster.

[Part of the Substructure of Dormitory, A.D. 1066.]

This range was probably, in the first instance, continuous and open, like that at Fountains Abbey^c, but was very early divided into separate compartments, as I shall presently shew. It is so seldom that we find constructive columns remaining in this country of a date earlier than the Norman Conquest, that it is an object of some interest to see what form they exhibit, though I admit that, date alone excepted, this can hardly be called a Saxon work, whilst its unimportant purpose forbids us to take it as a fair example of any style. There are only one or two, I think, of these columns which retain their pristine form, the others having been altered at subsequent periods.

^c [It is more probable that the partitions have been removed at Fountains; these substructures were originally divided by partitions into different small cellars or store-rooms; the partitions have very commonly been removed, and the space thus thrown open is often erroneously called the ambulatory. Such substructures have been preserved in numerous instances, as at Chester, Llanercoast, Sherborne, &c., &c.—ED.]

These consist of a cylindrical shaft, 3 ft. 6 in. in diameter, and 3 ft. 4 or 5 in. high. The capitals have a vast unmoulded abacus, seven or eight inches deep, supported by a moulding, if such it may be called, consisting of nothing but a frustrum of an inverted cone, the most pristine form, almost, to which a capital could be reduced, thoroughly efficient, but with the least possible amount of workmanship, not unlike what we may imagine may have been the first type of the Doric capital, and but one step removed from its apparent prototype among the tombs at Beni Hassan.



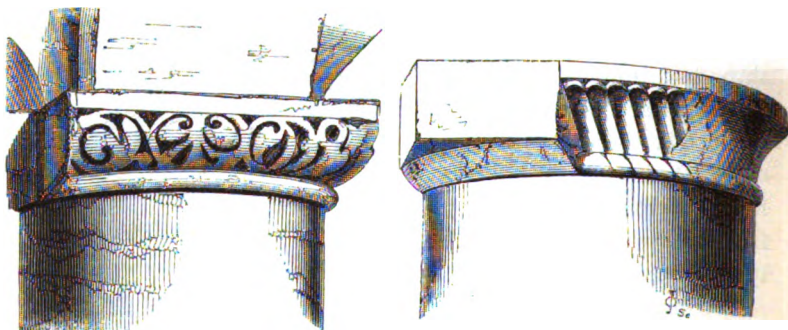
Early Norman Pillar. [A.D. 1066.]

We must not, however, for a moment suppose that this rudely pristine form was that usual at the period, except in rough and unimportant situations. We know that in the contemporary work at Waltham the capitals were enriched with ornaments of brass, and that much earlier Saxon columns had enriched capitals⁴. We must simply view it as a specimen of the honest simplicity with which they treated the less important portions of their structures. It is, in fact, only one step more plain than the capitals in the crypt at Winchester, which was constructed some twenty years later. The bases very closely resembled the capitals, but have, like them, generally been altered from their original form.

⁴ [The existence of any Saxon capitals enriched with *sculpture in stone* remains to be proved.—Ed.]

These columns carried plain groining*, with square transverse ribs, partly constructed of tufa.

It is somewhat curious and interesting that during the Norman period the majority of the capitals have been altered and enriched in various ways. Being within reach, their massive plainness seems to have tempted the monks to try experiments upon them, and we accordingly find the original block cut into a great variety of forms, some of them of considerable richness. The state of the capitals shews that the building was already subdivided, as the alterations are often totally different on the two sides of the capital, leaving a narrow intervening frustrum of the original, representing the thickness of the partition. Some are roughly chopped into a form, preparatory to the enriching process, which has not been completed.



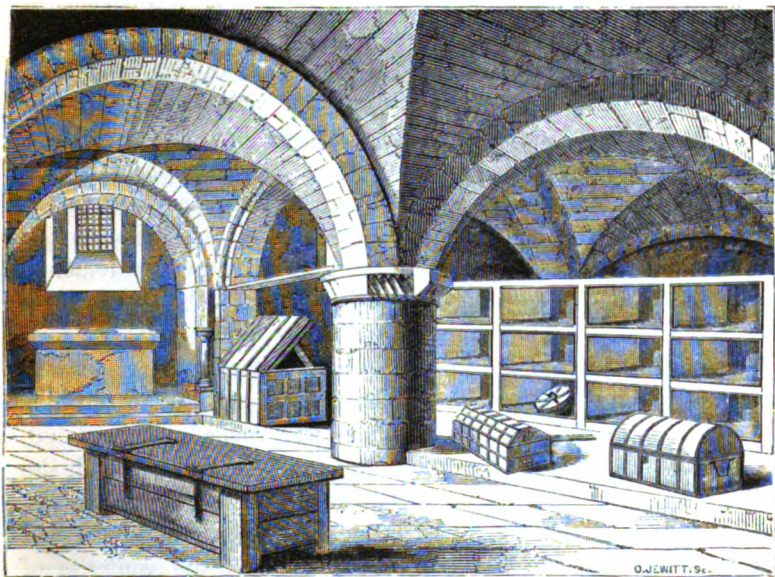
Early Norman Capitals, with later Norman Sculpture.

The accompanying woodcuts shew some of the altered forms which the capitals assume. The bases were also altered, and, in some instances at least, the floor so much lowered that the lower part of the columns had to be cased with new stone.

The first bay of this early work adjoins the outer vestibule of the chapter-house, and is imperfect, having been shortened by the later buildings which here abut against it. The capital of the column here visible is entirely altered to a round and slightly enriched form.

* [Transverse rib-arches, but no groin-ribs; these were not introduced till a subsequent period; a vault groined without ribs is one of the marks of *early* Norman work.—ED.]

Next to this comes the celebrated chapel of the Pyx. This, as is well known, has long been held by the Government.



Chapel of the Pyx in its present state, 1859. [Part of the Substructure of A.D. 1066.]

It formerly, I believe, contained the records of the Treasury, but now contains only empty cases and chests, with one exception, in which the paraphernalia for the trial of the Pyx are contained. I have recently, through the kindness of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary to the Treasury, visited, for the first time, its mysterious recesses: a formidable visit, requiring the presence of representatives of the Treasury and the Exchequer, with their attendants bearing boxes which contain six mighty keys.

It occupies two bays of the Confessor's work, a detached column standing in the centre. This column bears marks of a partition having at one time abutted against it, on one side of which the capital has been made round and slightly enriched, while on the other it has undergone no alteration but the rough canting off of its angles, as if preparatory to further alteration. The column which is partly built up in the north wall is on this side altered exactly as on the other, where it is

seen in the adjoining chamber, shewing, probably, that there was no partition against it. That on the south side I was not able to examine, owing to the presses by which it is concealed. The portion of it which is visible on the other side of the wall is one of those in which I have found the capital unaltered, and I was curious to see if the opposite side was so too; but was disappointed. In one of the eastern bays of the chapel the stone altar remains nearly entire. It is perfectly plain, and has in the middle of its top a large circular sinking, apparently for the reception of a portative altar-stone; though the form is, I believe, unusual. Adjoining the altar is a detached piscina, in the form of a column: it appears to be of the thirteenth century. The windows, which are very small, and probably of the same date, are doubly and very closely grated, and well they might be so, for we learn that during the reign of Edward I. the king's treasury here was robbed of £100,000, which he had laid up here for the Scotch wars, for which the abbot and forty monks were sent to the Tower on suspicion. I fancy that the chamber was brought to its present form and its security increased after that event. Of the contents of the Pyx Chapel I will speak presently. The bays of the early work beyond the cross passage to the little cloister are simply waggon-vaulted, as is that passage itself, as well as that which is called the dark cloister, which I suppose to be of the same age. [See the woodcut on p. 6.] These waggon-vaults are formed of tufa laid in rubble-work, and still shewing the impressions of the boards of the centering on the mortar. Of the walls of the dormitory¹ itself con-



Window of the Dormitory. [a. 1090.]

¹ The dormitory was partially burnt in 1448.

siderable portions remain. Several of its walled-up windows are visible in the great school, and the exterior one remains little altered excepting by decay. It has a shaft in each jamb, and is like early Norman windows. The capitals have been of the earliest cushion type, precisely like those in the refectory⁵.

[At the extreme south end of the dormitory, towards Little Dean's Yard, there is an early wall, forming originally one angle of the court, though now hidden in the cellars of the canons' houses, which join on to the substructure of the dormitory before described. In the transverse wall is a doorway of the time of the Confessor, which, as might be expected, is quite plain, round-headed, and recessed, but square-edged, without any chamfer; this is the inner side; the outer side is quite plain, not recessed, nor chamfered, but with the jambs, or sides of the opening widely splayed: it appears to have been a doorway from one apartment to another, and not an external doorway; this wall, probably, was under the extreme south end of the dormitory of the time of the Confessor.

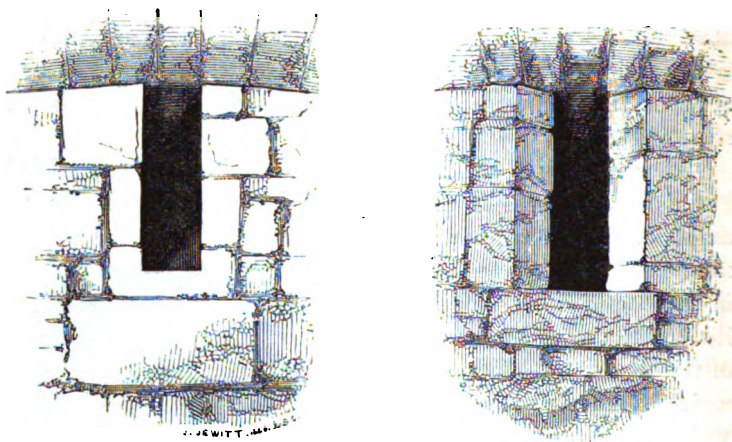
The other wall forms an angle with this, which it joins close to the doorway and on the east side of it. In this second wall is a small loop window of very early character, with long-and-short work in the jambs, and widely splayed within. The top of this window is cut off by the vault, which is a plain barrel-vault of Norman work; in the outer wall are



Doorway in the Vault under the Dormitory.
[A.D. 1066.]

⁵ [There is a decided difference in the masonry in the walls of the dormitory and that of the substructure under it, shewing that the work had been suspended for some years; this wall of two periods can be distinctly seen on the east side of the dormitory, in what is now a racquet court for the Westminster scholars.—ED.]

the marks of a round-headed Norman window, bricked up.



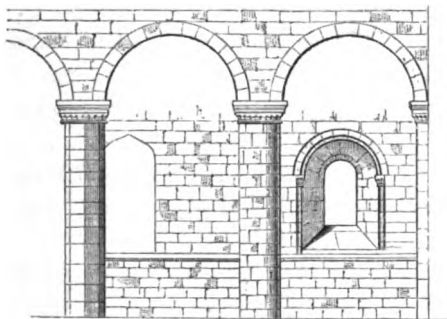
Small Window (Exterior and Interior) in the Southern part of the Confessor's Work under the Dormitory.

The thick, early wall has evidently been cut away in a semi-circular form to receive the vault upon it, and about two feet from it on the inner side is a Norman flat arch-rib, to carry the vault, shewing that it was intended originally to remove the old thick wall, but it was afterwards suffered to remain as a partition. This Norman vault added on to the Confessor's work shews an enlargement of the buildings in the twelfth century. The Norman barrel-shaped vault which runs across the south end of the substructure of the dormitory extends far beyond it, being not less than fifty feet long by about seventeen wide, and divided into two parts by the cloister wall before mentioned. The end next Little Dean's Yard has evidently been shortened, as the arch is walled up by a comparatively modern wall. There is the springing of a second vault still further to the south, cut off by the staircase to the school-room, which now occupies the southern part of the ancient dormitory: the northern end is occupied by the chapter library. The earlier wall under this vault, with the window in it, is at present under the vestibule to the school-room and the school library; it probably formed a part of the offices of the Abbey in the time of the Confessor.—ED.]

The only other part which is at all likely to belong to the Confessor's buildings is a part of the south wall of the refectory, in which a round-arched wall-arcading is still to be traced. As the Confessor increased the number of monks to seventy, he would want *eating* as well as *sleeping* room in due proportion, and in the absence of opposing evidence, it is likely enough that this may be a portion of his refectory¹.

The next building which I will notice is the chapel of St. Catherine, a work of the succeeding century. It was the chapel of the infirmary, and occupies a position not dissimilar to the corresponding chapels at Canterbury, Ely, and Peterborough.

The usual form of infirmary of a monastery was very similar to that of a church, with this simple difference, that the quasinave was very long, and was divided at about one-third of its



Part of the Norman Arcade of the Refectory to the Infirmary. [c. 1160.]

length from the east by a cross wall perforated only by a central doorway; the western portion forming the infirmary proper, the eastern portion being the nave of the chapel, and a chancel extending still to the eastward.

¹ Since writing the above it has been discovered that the lower parts both of the northern and of the eastern walls are of the same date, and retain the wall-arcading, though walled up. A part of this has been carefully opened out, (see Plate). The order is square, and the capitals are of the earliest form of the cushion type, consisting of an inverted cone intersecting with the vertical faces of a cube. The abaci are chamfered and quirked, and the bases are conical, resting upon square blocks. The whole is executed in chalk, including the roughly hewn and wide-jointed ashlar on both sides of the wall.

This arrangement allowed the sick monks to hear the services as they lay in their beds, while the convalescent could readily transfer themselves to the chapel. This may still be traced out at Canterbury, Ely, and Peterborough; and there is a nearly similar building still in use (though unconnected with the cathedral) at Chichester; as also (with more or less variation) at Bruges, at Lubeck, and, I dare say, many other places¹. Now, I imagine it is possible that the Westminster infirmary may originally have been of the same description. The chapel, of which the remains are sufficient to shew its plan, agree with it precisely; but the infirmary proper is gone, and may, I fancy, have been destroyed when the small cloister was built. If so, it no doubt extended westward to the wall in the dormitory. This, however, is a mere suggestion, and would be disproved if the small cloister can be proved to be of earlier date, which I see that Widmore imagines it to be. In that case, I should suppose that the infirmary surrounded it.

I have recently discovered an old hall of the date of Abbot Litlington, who is known to have built a new house for the infirmarer. It abuts upon the south side of St. Catherine's Chapel, and has a doorway into the chapel. It was, no doubt, the hall of the infirmarer's house, and was probably used by the convalescent patients². The garden now called the College Garden was originally the infirmary garden.

The chapel consisted of a nave and aisles, of five bays long, with a chancel of which I cannot ascertain the length. It is of very good late Norman, and in its details much resembles that at Ely, even to the setting of the octagonal columns angle foremost; but it is less rich.

The west doorway is of Abbot Litlington's time, (*temp.* Edward III. and Richard II.) The pier of the chancel-arch was discovered last year, while making alterations in an ad-

¹ [As at Sherborne, Dorsetshire, and at Leicester.—Ed.]

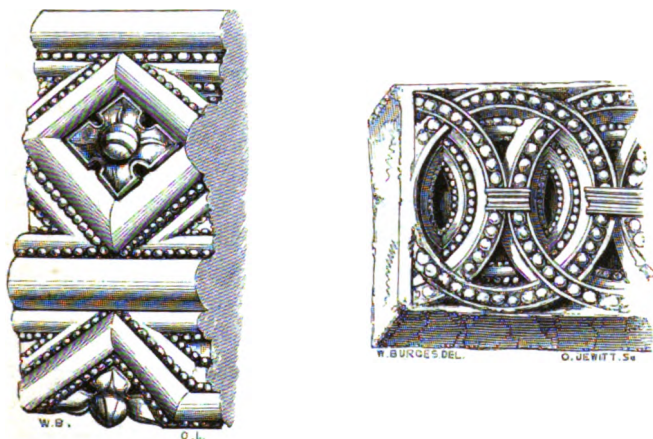
² Professor Willis (to whom we owe the discovery of the form of the old infirmaries) has recently pointed out the existence of a similar hall at Peterborough, where it is distinctly mentioned in an ancient document, which he quoted. It is close to the infirmary. I think, too, that the same may be traced at Ely in immediate contact with the infirmary.

joining building, but was unfortunately destroyed before I could see it.

The hall I have mentioned had a gallery extending over the aisle of the chapel, with a fireplace in it.

I have been able to preserve and expose to view the hall, with the exception of this gallery, which I was unable to save, though its fireplace still exists. The parts of the chapel which were formerly enclosed in the adjoining building are now exposed to view.

The only other Norman remains that I am aware of are some rather rich fragments, found under the nave floor, when the new stalls were being erected in 1848.



Fragments of late Norman Ornament found under the pavement of the Nave in 1848.

I see that in the time of Henry II., or thereabouts, stalls are mentioned as being made for the "new work." This looks as if the western part (which contained the stalls) had been rebuilt, but I am inclined to think that the new work was the chapel of St. Catherine, just built, the altar of which is said to have ranked second among them all.

THE CHURCH OF HENRY THE THIRD.

I now come to the existing church, a building which does not owe its claims upon *our* study to its antiquarian and historical associations, intensely interesting though these must be to every man worthy of the name of an Englishman. It has claims upon us architects, I will not say of a *higher* but of *another* character, on the ground of its intrinsic and superlative merits, as a work of art of the highest and noblest order; for, though it is by no means pre-eminent in general scale, in height, or in richness of sculpture, there are few churches in this or any other country having the same exquisite charms of proportion and artistic beauty which this church possesses; a beauty which never tires, and which impresses itself afresh upon the eye and the mind, however frequently you view it, and however glorious the edifices which, during the intervals, you may have seen; and I may add, which rides so triumphantly over the dishonour which, under the name, for the most part falsely assumed, of *high art*, more modern ages have ruthlessly heaped upon it.

+ The period of the erection of Westminster Abbey was one of the greatest transitional epochs of our architecture. During the latter half of the twelfth century the Romanesque, or Round-arch Gothic, had, both in France and England, transformed itself by a thoroughly consecutive and logical series of changes into the Pointed-arch style, and in both countries that style had been worked into a state of perfect consistency, and in each it had assumed its national characteristics, so that the works in the choir at Lincoln, the Lady-chapel at Winchester, and the western portals of St. Alban's and Ely, all of which date from 1195 to 1215, mark the perfectly-developed Early English style, and are readily distinguishable from the contemporary works in France.

The English works of this period have, at least to our eye, a more advanced appearance than the French. The round form of the abacus, the greater richness and delicacy of the mouldings, and generally a more decided severance from the massiveness of the Romanesque forms, give to the works I have alluded to a later appearance than what we observe in buildings of the same precise period in France. The leading characteristics were, however, much the same. The windows especially, in both countries, consisted, for the most part, of individual lights placed either singly or in groups. The chief variety from this was when, as was usual in the triforium openings and in bell-fries, two or more such lights were placed under a comprising arch, the interval below which was very usually pierced with circular or other openings. This was not, chronologically speaking, a step in advance of the detached light, but had all along been its contemporary, whether in the Romanesque, the Transitional, or the Early Pointed styles, and both were equally in use in France and England. In domestic work, the last-named type (that with two or more lights under a comprising arch) was always prevalent, on account of the smallness of the intermediate divisions, which, from an early period, it was customary to reduce to a thin shaft of marble or plain stone, as we see in our own country even in Romanesque works, as at the Jews' House and the building commonly called "John of Gaunt's Stables" at Lincoln, Fountains Abbey, Richmond Castle, &c.* As a general rule, however, the more detached form was, for a long time, the prevalent form in churches both in France and England. The difference between the course pursued in the two countries was this, that while in England the special energies of the builders were directed to the perfecting of the more usual type, the French began early in the thirteenth century to shew a preference for the other, and rather

* [In the choir of Peterborough Cathedral, built as early as 1140, some of the compartments of the triforium have small round openings deeply sunk in the head. Although not actually windows, the principle is precisely the same, and this is the earliest example of an approach to plate-tracery which has been observed; at St. Maurice's Church, York, is a window which is one step further in advance, having a larger opening in the head under the arch; a window in the porch of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, is another step in advance, the opening being still larger and a quatrefoil: see Plate II.—ED.]

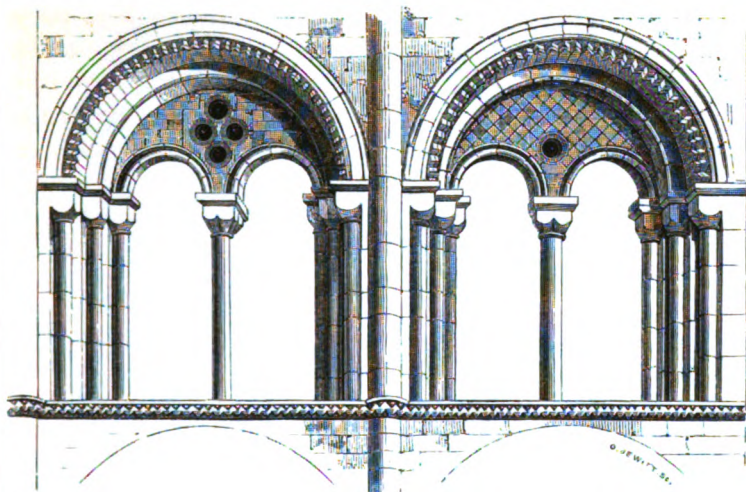
to neglect the perfecting of the more typical form. Both forms were frequent in each country, but the efforts of the English were rather directed to the one, and of the French to the other. The consequence was that, while in England the grouping of distinct lights was being brought to the utmost perfection, the French were engaged, more especially at least, on a number of tentative steps towards what became afterwards the mulioned and traceried window. I will not attempt a history of this invention, but will just call attention to one or two of its steps. At Bourges we have the earlier type in its full perfection, the space between the comprising and comprised arches and the piercings of the head being a flat face. At Le Mans^b and Tours we find these spaces cut out parallel to the lines of the openings, not, however, moulded into what is called *bar tracery*, but as if sawn square through,—a very clumsy and crude contrivance, very inferior to the plate tracery it was intended to improve. At Rheims, so far as I know, is seen the earliest introduction of the perfected principle. We find there, for the first time as I believe, the pierced spandrels and gussets moulded as the openings themselves, and the principle of bar tracery completed, though with some remaining imperfections. It is very difficult to fix dates to these transitions. Rheims Cathedral was commenced in 1212, and it is generally supposed that the first architect, De Coucy, completed the aisles in 1220 or 1225. M. Viollet-le-Duc^c, naturally enough, seems puzzled at finding perfect traceried windows at so early a period, and suggests it as probable, as the transept of the same work does not exhibit equal advancement, that the aisle windows were altered by him a little later.

Certain it is that neither Bourges nor Chartres^d, which were built about the same time, give any evidence of a like progression; while the intermediate step at Le Mans and Tours would appear, from many of its accompanying details, to be of later date than that given to Rheims. Had Wilars de Honecort

^b [The choir of Le Mans was completed and the windows filled with painted glass in 1255.—Ed.]

^c [We are indebted to this gentleman for the annexed woodcut of the apsidal chapel in question, taken from his admirable *Dictionnaire de l'Architecture Française*, t. ii. p. 473. See Plate IV.—Ed.]

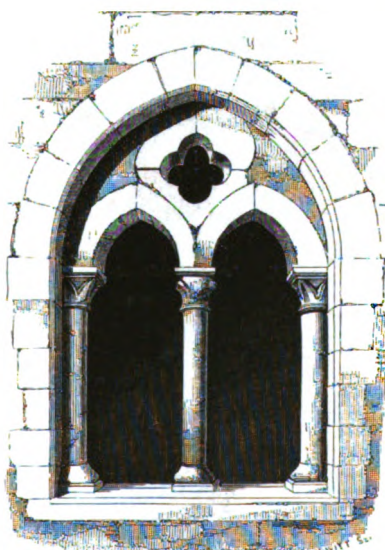
^d [The choir of Chartres was consecrated in 1260.—Ed.]



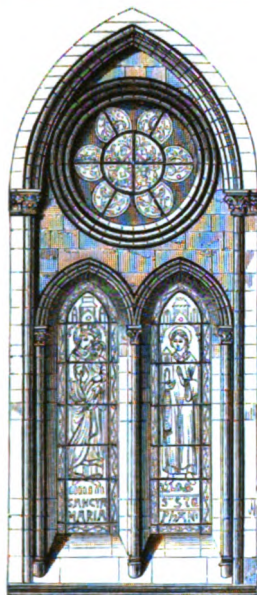
Triforium, Peterborough Cathedral, A.D. 1140.



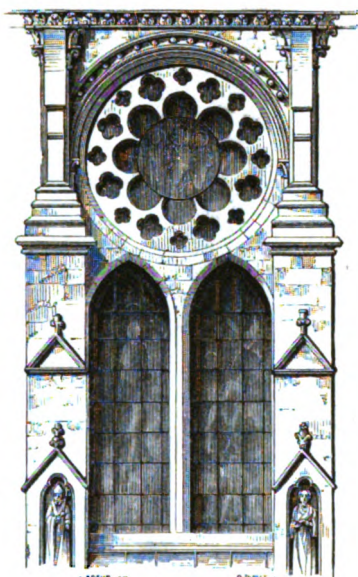
St. Maurice, York, c. 1160.



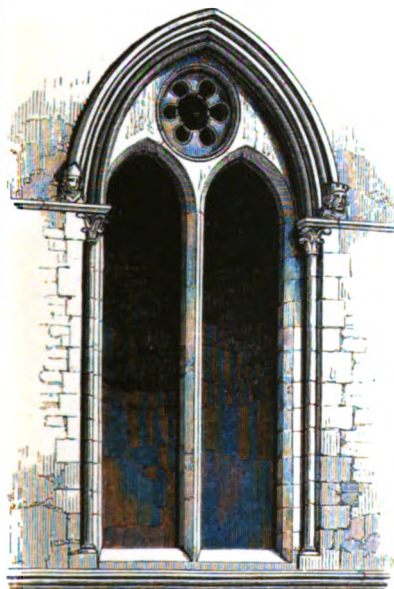
Porch of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, c. 1180.



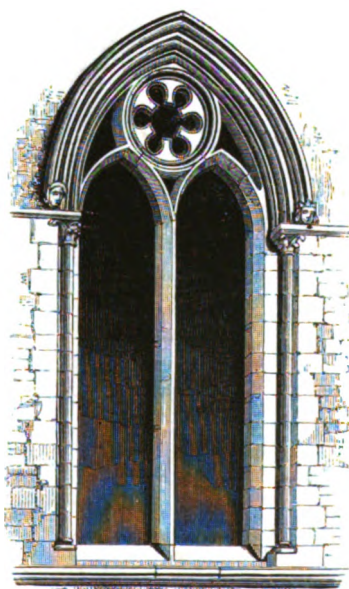
Bourges Cathedral.



Chartres Cathedral.

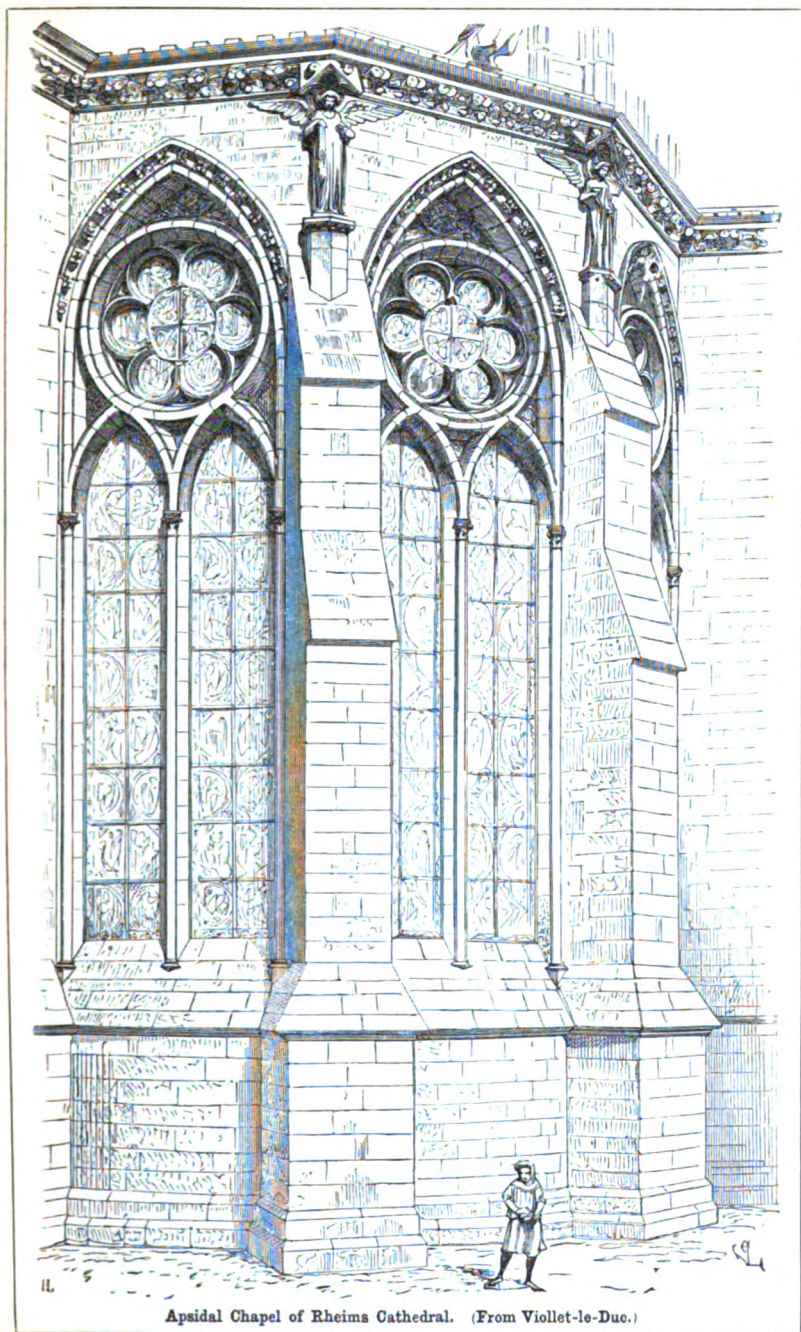


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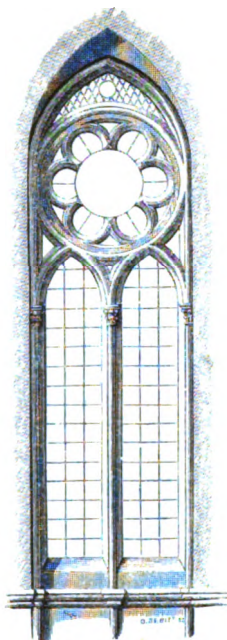
Tours Cathedral.



Apsidal Chapel of Rheims Cathedral. (From Viollet-le-Duc.)



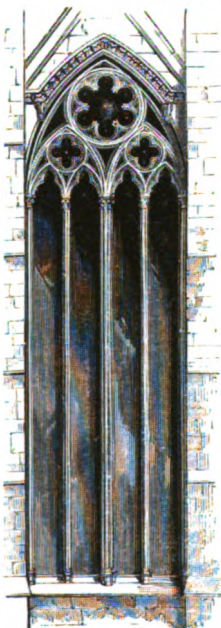
Auxerre Cathedral.



Bourges Cathedral.



St. Martin des Champs, Paris.



Sainte Chapelle, Paris.

put a date to his "Sketch-book," which gives these very windows at Rheims, the difficulty would perhaps have been solved.

The windows with similar tracery in Nôtre Dame, at Paris, M. Viollet-le-Duc, from internal evidence, dates from 1235—1240. The cathedral at Amiens presents difficulties as to date¹ almost equal to that at Rheims, but, on the whole, we may fairly suppose this development to have become pretty common in northern France by about 1230 or 1235, though not to the extent of superseding either the detached light or the plate tracery. Pierre de Montereau, the architect to the Sainte Chapelle², in which the perfected tracery prevails, built also the refectory of St. Martin des Champs, in which it does not appear at all.

During the same period the peculiar, and afterwards stereotyped, French arrangement of the *chevet*, or apse, with its group of radiating chapels, had been brought by many steps to its final development.

Radiating chapels, growing out of the main apse or its aisles, had been early used. In this country we find them at Gloucester and Tewkesbury, and in the foundations recently excavated at Leominster, all of the Romanesque period; and later we find them at Pershore, and later still at Battle Abbey. The French characteristic, however, was the arranging of them in polygons fitting to one another, and to the sides of the polygonal aisle of the main apse,—a sort of corona of little chapels mathematically fitted together and their axes radiating to the centre of the apse, at or near which the high altar was usually placed. This we find in many tentative forms, but the system appears to have been brought to perfection at Rheims and Amiens; the latter of which churches seems to have henceforth been taken as the type on which, in the majority of

* [The "Sketch-book" of Wilars de Honecourt shews that the plan was altered after the work was begun: the basement of these chapels is round, the upper part after the change of plan is polygonal. Probably this change was made on purpose to introduce the new-fashioned windows with tracery, which could hardly be constructed in a curved wall; a flat surface being necessary, it was obtained by this change of plan: these windows belong to the later portion.

See Wilars de Honecourt, by Willis, p. 209.—Ed.]

¹ [The choir of Amiens was consecrated in 1244.—Ed.]

² [The Sainte Chapelle was built between 1245 and 1257.—Ed.]

cases, though subject to some varieties, the grouping of eastern chapels was founded, as at Beauvais, Cologne, Altenberg, and a host of other instances. The two German apses last named, I may mention, however, seem to have had Beauvais rather than Amiens for their immediate type^b.

There can be little doubt that King Henry III., during his sojourns in France, became enamoured of this arrangement, which in its perfected form he may have seen in course of being carried out at Amiens, Beauvais, Rheims, and elsewhere. It would naturally strike him as well suited to the reconstruction of the eastern portion of a church already possessing an apse with a continuous surrounding aisle. Whether this project had been formed when the Lady-chapel was built in 1220, it is impossible to ascertain. This was begun in the same year with Amiens Cathedral, and eight years later than Rheims, so that it is not impossible; though the extreme youth of the king would in that case compel us to transfer the originating of the scheme from him to the abbot. However this may be, it is probable that it fell readily into the subsequently adopted plan, as we find no disturbance of the regularity of the division which would otherwise have been the case.

Judging from internal evidence, which is all we have to go upon till the public documents and the archives of the Abbey are more thoroughly searched, I should imagine that an English architect, or master of the works, was commissioned to visit the great cathedrals then in progress of erection in France, with the view of making his design on the general idea suggested by them. Would that, like his contemporary Wilars de Honecort, he had bequeathed to us his sketch-book!

^b That Beauvais, rather than Amiens, was the type from which Cologne was imitated, is proved by a little piece of evidence which has recently come under my notice. The pinnacles over the eastern chapels at Beauvais are of a very peculiar form, consisting of a pinnacle standing on four detached shafts, and placed over another pinnacle of which the pyramidal part runs up in the midst of the shafts of the upper one, and terminates under its canopy. Now the late M. Zwirner, the architect to Cologne Cathedral, shewed me a model of just such a pinnacle, and informed me that it shewed the original form of those round the apse there, but that he had substituted solid pinnacles for the sake of strength. The existence of so unusual a feature in the same position in two buildings so distant one from the other could not be accidental.

The result is precisely what might have been expected from such a course. Had a French architect been sent for, we should have had a plan really like some French cathedral, and it would have been carried out, as was the case with William of Sens' work at Canterbury, with French details. As it is, however, the plan, though founded on that common in France, differs greatly from any existing church, and it contains no French detail whatever, excepting the work of apparently one carver. I have sometimes fancied that I could detect a French moulding in the water-tableing of the external buttresses, but these are themselves restorations, and are so decayed that I cannot make sure of their section. If it be so, it is just one of those exceptions which prove a rule.

The architect, however, in imitating the great contemporary churches in France, did adopt another of their great characteristics, the bar tracery of their windows. I am not aware that it exists in a perfect form in any earlier English work, though often closely approached. It is said that Netley Abbey was erected about 1240, and the eastern part of Old St. Paul's is said to have been consecrated in that year. And as both of these contained perfected tracery, the substantiation of those dates would establish for us an earlier claim; but on the whole, I think we may fairly yield this development to our neighbours, and consider this to be about the period at which we borrowed it; though so perfect is the catena of transitional steps, that we should have had no difficulty in tracing out the history of the development from English examples; the only step which I miss in them being that which I have given from Le Mans and Tours; on which, however, I have never heard any stress laid.

This church is, then, remarkable as marking—1st, the introduction of the French arrangement of chapels, which, however, failed to take root here; and 2ndly, the completed type of bar tracery, which was no sooner grafted on an English stock than it began to shoot forth in most vigorous and luxuriant growth.

Though the French type was, as a general form, adopted in planning the chevet with its circle of chapels, I know of no

French church from which the actual plan could have been taken.

The simplest mode of setting out the chevet with its chapels is that adopted at Rheims, which is effected by simply describing a semicircle upon the transverse line passing through the easternmost of the main range of columns, and of a diameter equal to the width from centre to centre of those columns, and inscribing in it a semi-decagon, whose angles will give the centres of the piers,—the same operation being repeated for those of the aisles.

At Amiens the system is different; the two semicircles are described, one for the piers and the other for the aisle, and about each of these it would seem that the normal idea was that a portion of a dodecagon should be circumscribed; but, in fact, the sides are a little less than those of that figure.

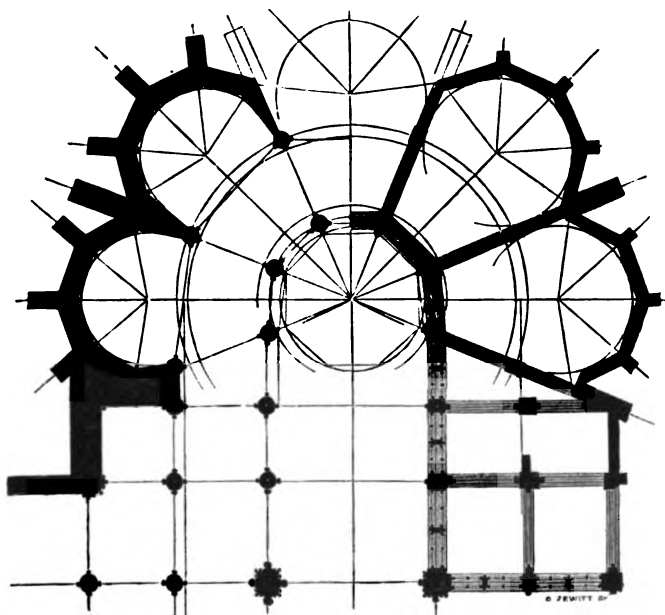
On the outer circuit of the aisle, seven angles of the quasi-dodecagon represent the centres of the piers between the radiating chapels, while on the inner circuit five angles of the smaller quasi-dodecagon represent the centres of five of the piers of the apse; the two remaining piers being placed at the points where the transverse line, which cuts off the seven sides of the outer apse, intersects with longitudinal lines, which pass through the centres of the main ranges of piers.

It will be seen that this gives a bay of a width intermediate between those of the apse and those of the main arcade, but in a line with the latter. The chapels are alike in the width of their arches, but differ in the westernmost sides of the western chapels not radiating in a regular manner.

The chevets at Beauvais and Cologne differ from that at Amiens in this, that the dodecagons are *inscribed*, instead of being *circumscribed*. It follows that only five of the angles of each dodecagon represent the angles of the outer or inner apse; the remaining angles of the former are formed by spreading the side of the figure outwards till it intersects with the line of the aisle wall, and those of the latter by drawing a transverse line from these points to its intersection with the longitudinal lines of the main range of columns as before. The consequence is, that the first side of the apse has a

slight inclination, instead of being parallel to the axis of the church¹.

The chevet at Westminster differs greatly from any of the above. The sides of the apse are five in number, as at Rheims; but instead of being five sides of a decagon, the three easternmost are sides of an octagon, and the others incline but slightly from the sides of the church. The great peculiarity, however, is in the chapels, which occupy so much more than the semi-circle as to do away with one of the non-radiating chapels, reducing the space it usually occupies to an irregular pier, and introducing opposite to it in the aisles a bay of very irregular form. I had long noticed this peculiarity, though I had thought it an irregular contrivance to give greater size to the apsidal



Plan of Apse.

chapels; but from finding the setting out of the work remarkably exact, I was led to think that some mathematical principle must have been acted on, and, having had most careful

¹ These definitions are open to some modifications for irregularities admitted in the setting out.

measurements made and tested in every way, I find this to have been the case.

The system is this: the two semicircles are drawn as before, the diameter of the inner one being the width from centre to centre of columns; a semi-octagon is inscribed in this; three of its angles give the centres of the piers of the outer and inner apses, the remaining sides of each apse being formed by spreading them till they meet the main longitudinal lines. It most resembles the principle followed at Beauvais, but differs from it (besides the smaller number of the sides) in the outer and inner apse being exactly alike in principle, and all their sides equal, and both set out in regular radiating lines, instead of using the transverse line adopted at Beauvais. This system has great advantages: it avoids the narrowness of the apsidal bays, so apparent in most of the French examples; it gives a beautiful gentleness of transition from the main arcades into the apse, and it also gives a great boldness and expanse to the chapels,—advantages purchased cheaply at the expense of one of the square chapels on either side, and a certain degree of picturesque irregularity in the aisles. It should be mentioned that the setting out in this church is remarkable for its regularity and exactness, though the drawing of an intricate mathematical figure on the ground, some 120 feet wide, necessitated some trifling deviations from absolute precision.

The section of the church, also, differs much from that of the great contemporary buildings in France.

The earlier French Pointed churches had retained the Romanesque system of having not a mere triforium, but a distinct upper story over the aisles, often with a second range of vaulting. The same occurs, though not vaulted, in many of our own Early Pointed churches, especially where they resulted from the piecemeal reconstruction of their Norman predecessors. At Amiens and Rheims, as at Salisbury, Whitby, Rievaulx, and indeed the majority of our churches of the thirteenth century, this second story was represented only by the space intervening between the roof and vaulting of the aisles. At Westminster, however, for some special reasons, the second story, which we

know to have existed in the Confessor's church, was continued in its successor, probably to admit more numerous spectators on grand occasions, such as coronations and royal funerals. It was obtained, not so much by increasing the height of the triforium arcade, as by flattening the aisle roof, so as to allow of a wall of considerable height to the triforium, the story being lighted by short windows of a quasi-triangular form, filled in with cusped circles.

The spaciousness of this upper story is quite surprising to those who see it for the first time. It is capable of containing thousands of persons, and its architectural and artistic effects, as viewed from different points, are wonderfully varied and beautiful.

I have sometimes doubted whether, however, this arrangement was contemplated when the building was commenced. There is about the intersection of the aisle roof with the flying buttresses a want of system which does not seem of a piece with the studious exactness of other points



Buttress, &c., Westminster Abbey, South Side.
a Cloister. b Triforium of two Stories. c Clerestory.

of the design, but is more like the result of an alteration of the design during its execution. It gives also to the transept elevation a high-shouldered look, which is detrimental to its elegance, and, while it adds to the external importance of the aisles, it rather takes from the dignity of the clerestory by concealing its natural spring from behind the abutting roof of the aisles.

I may mention, that the very same arrangement was followed in the contemporary work in the north transept at Hereford; indeed, the very cusping of the circular windows which I have recently discovered there seems to be exactly copied from those in the same position at Westminster.

The arrangement of the flying buttresses, divided into two parts by a second buttress and pinnacle, is more like French work than English: (see p. 25.)

Of the mathematical proportions on which the design of the church has been founded, it is hardly safe to speak: this is a subject on which so much uncertainty and consequent difference of opinion exists, that it would be unwise to be dogmatic or to adopt any theory too positively. The proportions are, however, so pre-eminently satisfactory to the eye, that it is not unprofitable to examine into them, for whether the result of accident or intention, the lessons to be learned are the same; indeed, it is perhaps almost more instructive to find that proportions arrived at by tentative experiments and a correct eye coincide with some mathematical principle, than, after trying many geometrical formulæ, to find one which gives a result satisfactory to the eye. That beauty of proportion may be reduced to mathematical principles I have no doubt; but, as mathematical forms are of infinite variety and of very unequal beauty, while the reasons why one is more pleasing to the eye than another are, to say the least, very occult, it seems to follow that the laws of proportion must be investigated by a process partly tentative and partly geometrical; the proportions dictated by the eye and those resulting from mathematical forms being mutually tested the one by the other, till we are able to determine which set of geometrical proportions is most beautiful, and which among the forms which

please the eye are capable of being reduced to mathematical proportions.

As an illustration of this, I remember, many years since, while looking at a plate in "*Britton's Antiquities*," in which he gives internal arches from a number of our cathedrals, I set myself the task of determining which were the most beautiful in their proportions. To my surprise, I was compelled to choose the two which apparently most differed the one from the other—in fact, the tallest and the shortest of the set. I was perplexed at so contradictory a result, but, as I could not go against the dictates of my eye, I endeavoured to investigate the cause, and had much pleasure in finding that both (as shewn in the drawing at least) might be resolved in equilateral triangles, the Westminster arch having three, and that from Wells only two of them in its height. I have somewhere heard that in an old work of the Freemasons it is said that good proportions may be obtained from the square, but better from the equilateral triangle; and I have little doubt that it is true. If the principle of the triangle is applied in the present case, the main section may be said to have a height of three equilateral triangles described upon the transverse width of the church from centre to centre of the columns, which dimensions seem in all churches to have been taken as the elementary scale on which the proportions were founded. Another proportion, common in old works, is derived from the diagonal of the square of this measure. Both have been claimed as the system made use of at Westminster, but the more closely one examines into it, the more clear it is that the equilateral triangle is the figure made use of. I have made careful measurements, and find it fully established that this is the case. I find that the elementary width is about five inches greater in the transept than in the choir and nave. Possibly it had been affected in the latter case, as it would appear to have been in the aisles, by some accidental cause,—probably the positions of the Norman walls which existed to the westward long after the works of Henry III. and Edward I. were completed,—for the difference is clearly not accidental, being most systematically carried out and adhered to throughout, to a fraction. If we take the larger of these

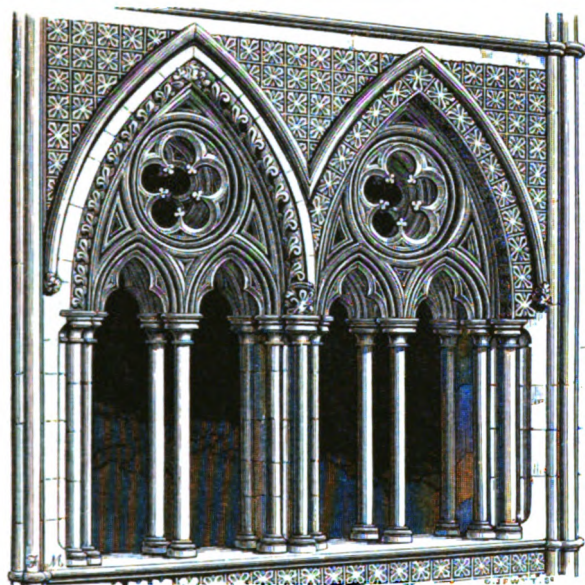
dimensions, it will be found to agree very closely indeed with the different parts of the church. The height of the nave exceeds the three triangles only by about eight inches. The height to the triforium stringcourse exceeds half that dimension, or the three triangles, or the semi-scale, by only four inches; and the height of the triforium itself is four inches in excess of one of these minor triangles: differences so small as to be invisible in so great a height. This agrees with the theory laid down by Professor Cockerell, in his excellent paper published by the Archæological Institute in their Winchester volume. He defines it in this way, that if you assume double aisles to the nave, (i.e. if you treble the elementary width,) the equilateral triangle described on this width will give the height of the vaulting. In the ichnography, the proportions are far less exact. The idea would appear to be that the length of the church should consist of four, and the length of the transept of two, of the heights of the great triangle last named. This is, however, by no means exact, and one cannot lay much stress upon it¹.

I may here mention that the same system holds good in the chapter-house, of which the height agrees with that of an equilateral triangle described on its diagonal; or, more properly, each of its arches, from the central pillar to the angle shaft, has the height of two triangles, or of a regular *vesica piscis*.

The details of the internal design greatly exceed in richness those of French works of the same age, excepting only in the extent to which the capitals are foliated.

The arch-mouldings are peculiarly beautiful, as will be seen by the accompanying sections. (See Plate VII.) The triforium arcade is as beautiful as any which can perhaps be found. That to the eastern part of Lincoln may be almost richer, but its proportions yield in beauty to those of Westminster. The richness of the whole is also vastly increased by the wall

¹ From further examination since writing the above, I believe that both in the aisles of the nave, and in the lengths of the church and of the transept, the proportions reached to the centres of the walls, instead of (as was more usual) their internal face. If so, the last-named proportions would be almost exact.



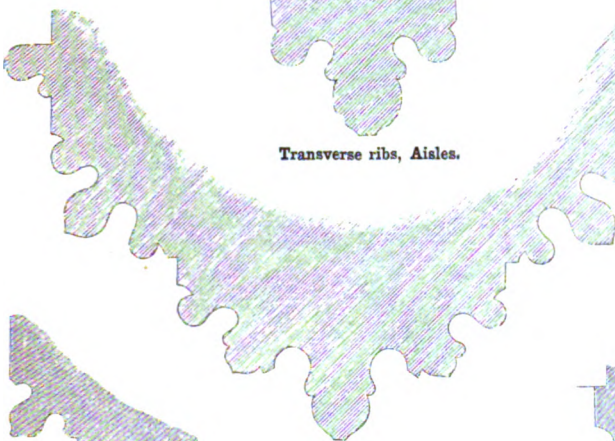
Triforium Arcade, exterior. Henry III.



Interior of Triforium. Angle of Nave and South Transept, junction of work of Hen. III. and Edw. I.



Transverse ribs, Aisles.



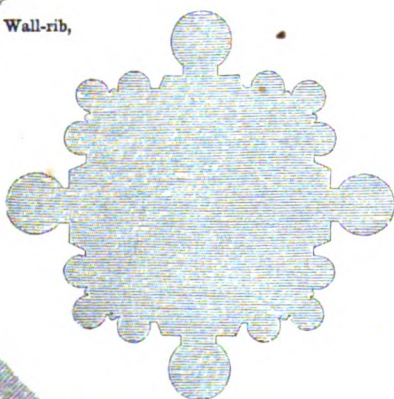
Pier arches.



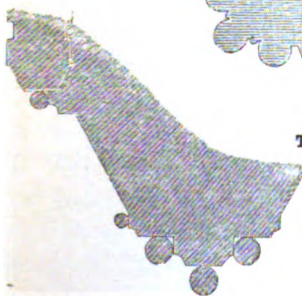
Scotson arch and Wall-rib, Aisles.



Diagonal rib, Aisles.



Tower pier.



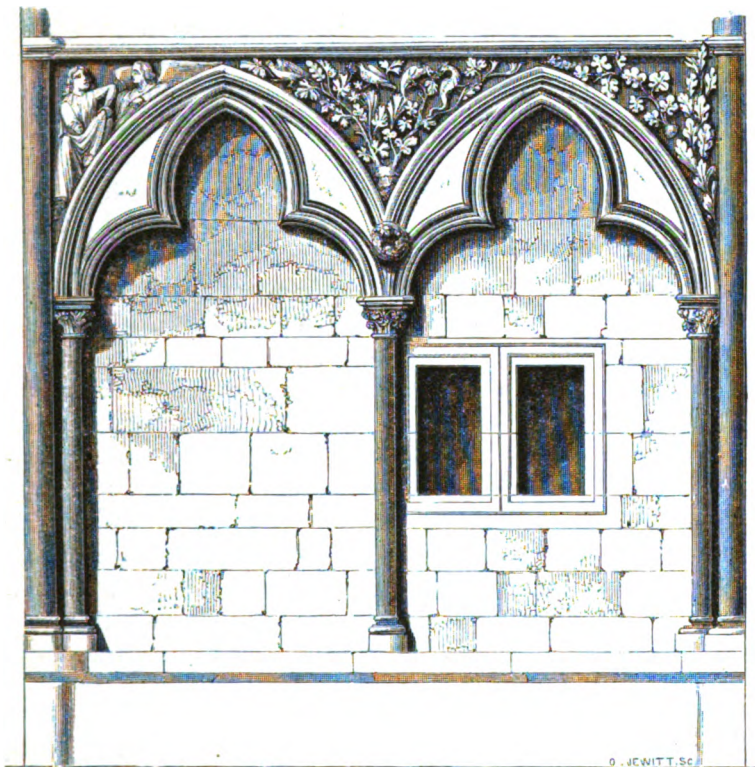
Window-jamb, Aisles.



Wall-arcade, Aisles.

SECTIONS OF MOULDINGS.

surfaces between the arches being enriched with a square diaper. The wall arcading is of exquisite design, and the spaces



Wall Arcade.

over it were filled with most beautiful foliage, with figures interspersed, while the spandrels of the cusping were filled with ornamental painting. When, to the richness of architectural detail, we add that of material,—the entire columns and all the subordinate shafts being of marble, and the remainder of stone of several different shades of colour,—the magnificence of the internal design must have greatly exceeded that of its French prototypes. The only one point which strikes the eye as looking less rich, is the use of merely moulded capitals to the main pillars. This, however, arose from their being of Purbeck marble. It is true that at Ely and else-

where, as in our own chapter-house, the carved capitals are of this stubborn material; but its use may, nevertheless, be accepted as a fair excuse for moderating the workmanship. The internal designs of the transept ends are truly magnificent—indeed, I doubt whether their equals can be found elsewhere. The manner in which they continue the lines of the general design, and yet add diversity to the forms, is truly artistic.

It is most unfortunate that the great rose windows have lost their original character; I have, however, a strong impression that the old ones may have, in their leading subdivisions, resembled that now existing in the south transept, and that the design has been simply translated from that of the thirteenth to that of the fifteenth century. I have attempted in the accompanying drawing to translate it back again, and you will see that it makes a very fine window, in perfect accordance with the character of the church, and very much like several existing specimens. You may say that this is pure conjecture, and so it is, but it is a conjecture not devoid of some collateral corroboration, for, singularly enough, there exist in the chapter-house some encaustic tiles of a pattern evidently copied from a rose window, and agreeing precisely in its divisions with that under consideration, representing even the shafts with their caps and bases. It will be seen that my translation of the existing window into Early English almost precisely resembles the pattern given on those tiles. The square form in which the circle is inscribed seems to be original, from the systematic way in which the vaulting is accommodated to it, but it must be admitted, on the other hand, that there are in the eastern jamb of the south window some indications of the design having been altered from the original intention; though, as I think, this was an alteration made during the progress of the work, as neither the opposite jamb of the same window, nor either jamb of the opposite window, shew any such indications. The south window was, I believe, renewed in the fifteenth century, and again in the seventeenth; Sir Christopher Wren informs us that it had been renewed about forty years before the date of his report.

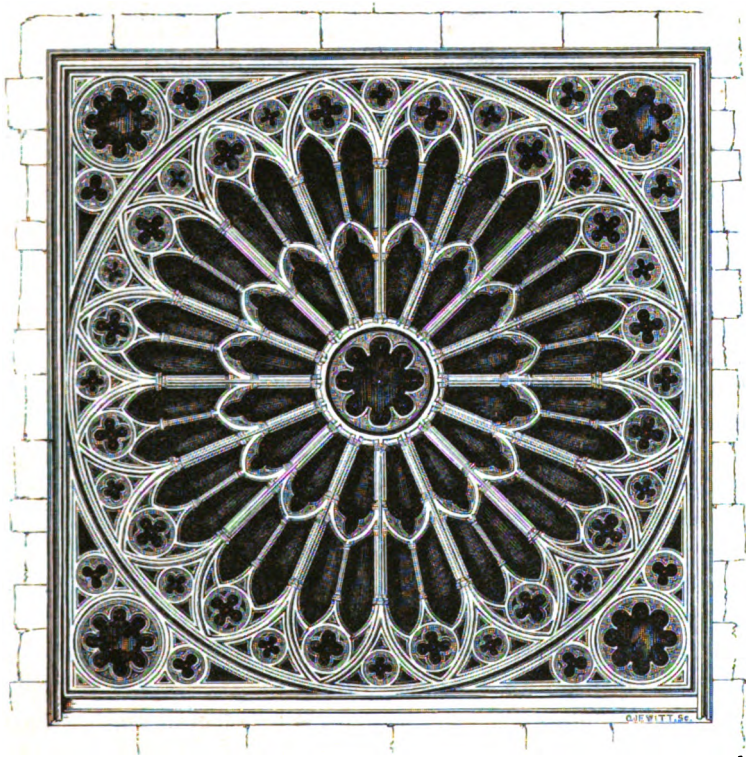
The north window received its present form in the eighteenth



PAVING TILES.



century, and in no degree resembles its predecessor. Whether that which Sir Christopher Wren reports to be in a dangerous state was the original one, we have no means of telling; its divisions, however, judging from Hollar's print, must have been generally similar to those of the southern window.



Restoration of the Rose Window.

The works undertaken by Henry III., and completed in 1269, terminated immediately to the west of the crossing: the line of junction can be readily traced. I think the older work may have included one bay of the great arcade and aisles, or, to say the least, some of its details were continued in that bay; but in the first clerestory window of the western arm the change is clearly seen in the diversity of its eastern from its western jambs. (See Plate X.)

The five bays west of the crossing are the work of Edward I.

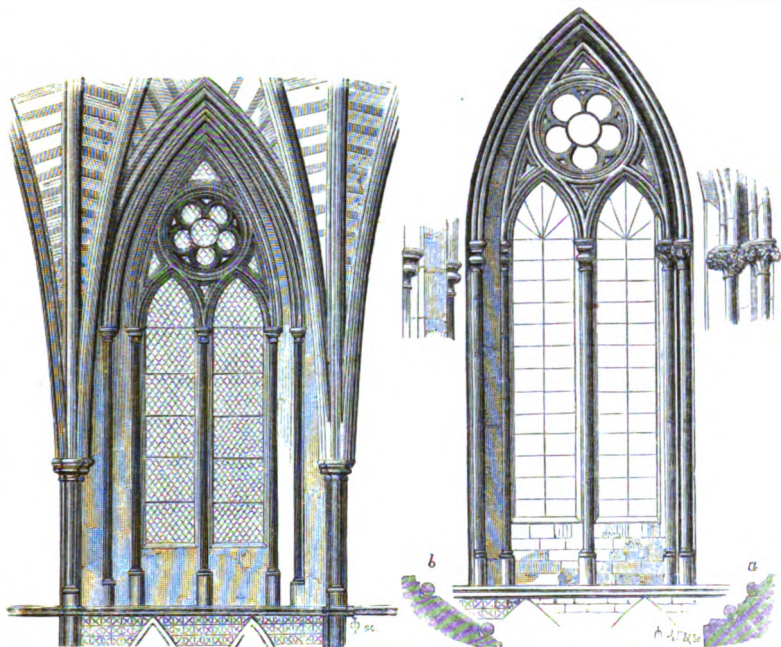
They differ chiefly from the work of his father in the plan of the columns, which have four attached and four detached shafts, (the latter in most instances secured by fillets of brass,) in the greater number of the ribs of the vaulting, and in the substitution of shields for carved enrichments in the spandrels of the wall-arcading. The rib-moulds of the vaulting are also different, the capitals of the wall-arcading are moulded instead of being carved, and the triforium has no enrichments in its arch-mouldings; but in the main the design may be considered to be the same.

In both, the carved foliage is at the point of transition from the conventional to the natural. It is not in any degree *intermediate* between the two, but they stand on equal terms side by side, each in its integrity, and each excellent of its kind.

Unhappily, however, the sculptors of more recent times, convinced that Gothic architecture is discordant with their own "high art," have shewn such praiseworthy determination in destroying, root and branch, the discordant element, and the destructive atmosphere of London has shewn so strong a sympathy with the practitioners in high art, that between the two we have little left of the carving of the lower parts (on which the greatest amount of study had been expended) but a few mutilated and crumbling fragments — "the gleanings of the grapes when the vintage is done."

These melancholy relics are, however, sufficient to shew us the value of what we have lost.

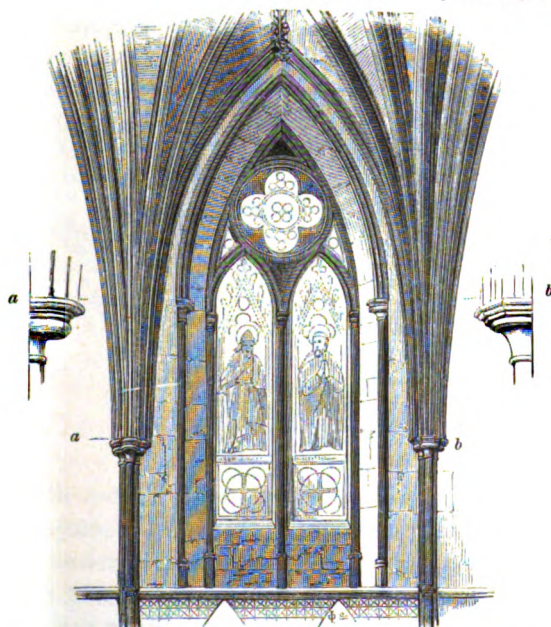
I have before mentioned that the hand of one French carver may be traced in the work. This is the case chiefly among the capitals of the wall-arcading. Many of these are of the English type of the period, but among them are two kinds, both of which are in their carving distinctly French. The one is the *crochet* capital, the stalks of which are terminated, not as in English work with conventional, but with exquisite little tufts of natural foliage, such as may be seen in the wall-arcading of the Sainte Chapelle, and many other French works of the period. In the other, natural foliage is introduced creeping up the bell, and turning over at the top in symmetrical tufts.



Choir.

North-east angle of Nave.

a Eastern jamb, temp. Hen. III.
b Western jamb, temp. Edw. I.

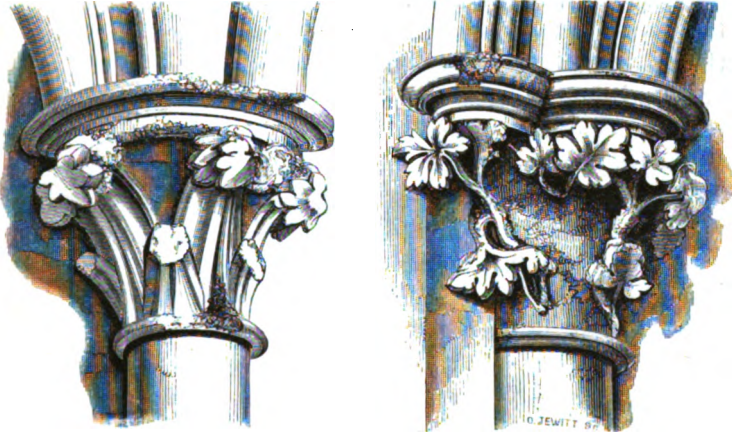


Junction of styles, Nave.

a Eastern jamb, temp. Edw. I.

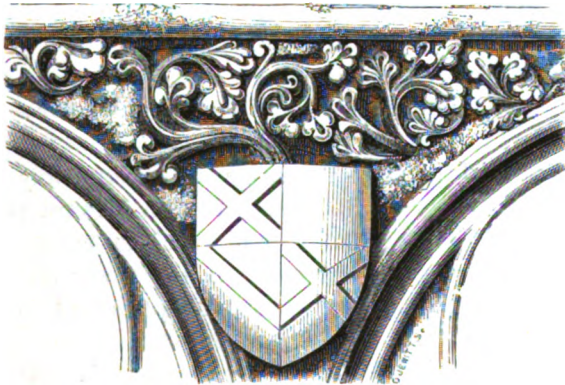
b Western jamb, temp. Rich. II.

In both the foliage is smaller and less bold than in French work, and the architectural form of the capital is English.



Capitals of Wall Arcade.

The spandrels over the wall-arcading are exquisitely beautiful. Some are only diapered in square diaper, like the spandrels of the triforium, some are ornamented with conventional



Spandrel with Shield.

and some with natural foliage, with or without figures, and some with subjects. Those in the western arm contained shields of a large number of the great men of the day. The great majority have given place to modern monuments, but the few which remain are nobly executed. They are curiously hung by

the arm-straps to projecting heads. In those parts of the triforium which cross the ends of the transepts there have been figures in all the spandrels. Of these, the two central ones in the north transept are gone, and the corresponding figures in the south transept are much decayed, but those in the angles of both, being executed in a superior material, are more or less perfect. They all represent angels censuring, and are exceedingly fine, after making due allowance for the height at which they were intended to have been seen.

Below these, in the north transept, there are figures in the window-jambs, and busts of angels in medallions in the soffits of the window-heads. They are shewn as bearing musical instruments, &c., forming what is called a "Divine liturgy." They seem to have been well executed, though now much decayed.



Spandrel with Figure.

The bosses of the vaulting are generally very nobly executed, particularly those over the choir, (I mean Edward the First's work, west of the crossing,) some of which are among the finest I have ever seen. Several bosses in the western aisle of the north transept contain well-executed figures and groups surrounded by foliage.

Of the original details of the exterior it is nearly impossible to form anything like a correct idea. The whole was greatly decayed at the commencement of the last century, and was re-cased, almost throughout, with Oxfordshire stone, by Sir Christopher Wren and his successors, the details being altered and pared down in a very merciless manner; and the work, thus renewed, has again become greatly decayed. There

is, in fact, scarcely a trace of any original detail of the eastern portion of the exterior left. The modeller employed by Sir Christopher Wren seems to have had more respect for the details than his master, for, while the latter has destroyed the external shafts of the windows, and represented their capitals by huge ungainly acorns, the modeller has in several instances shewn the originals quite faithfully.

The exterior is thus described by Keepe, in 1683 :—

“On the north side you rather behold the skeleton of a church than any great comeliness in her appearance, being so shrivelled and parcht by the continual blasts of the northern winds, to which she stands exposed, as also the continual smoaks of the sea-coal which are of a corroding and fretting quality, which have added more furrows to her declining years, that little of her former beauty now remains. On this side is a most noble door or portal, with a porch thereunto that opens into the cross of the church, and on each side thereof two lesser porticoes, one of which only serves at present for the convenience of entering therein. This porch in former times hath been of great esteem and reputation, assuming to itself no less a name than that of the porch of Solomon. That it hath been a curious, neat, and costly porch in foregoing times, the remains thereof do at this day in some measure declare; for therein were placed the statues of the Twelve Apostles at full proportion, besides a multitude of lesser saints and martyrs to adorn it, with several intaglios, devices, and fret-works that helped to the beauty thereof. But that it came in any proportion to the stately, rich, and noble porch of King Solomon is not to be imagined; nor can we think that those who christened and gave it that name were so ignorant or so vain as so to believe; but as a thing excellent in those times, and far surpassing any of the same kind, it was looked upon as a piece of work well deserving no common name, and therefore had the title of Solomon's porch appropriated thereunto.”

Crull, writing in 1711, says:—“The very remnants which are obvious to our sight even to this day, may soon convince us of its ancient beauty and magnificence. For this portico

still retains entire below two of these admirable statues, besides two others quite defaced, and two more over the eastern part of the portico, and as many over the western door, through which you enter on the north side, pretty entire, being all undeniable witnesses of their former excellency."

These magnificent portals formed, beyond a doubt, the most sumptuous external features in the church, and should be especially mentioned as another imitation from French cathedrals. It is curious that this is, so far as I am aware, the only instance in which those glorious portals, so common in France, were directly imitated in an English church. From the existing remains, as well as from the above description, the portals must have been gorgeously rich. There are a number of mouldings still existing in the original stone, and which clearly contained rich foliage, like that still remaining in the doorway to the chapter-house, but now carefully cut out. The places where the figures of the apostles stood are readily to be distinguished, and an old print shews one also on the central pillar of the double doorway, no doubt a figure of our Lord.

The tympana of the smaller openings retain their original stone, which is decorated with circular panels, no doubt once containing sculpture, but the great tympanum is renewed apparently without any regard to the original form. There were formerly gabled canopies to each portal, but now the central one has an ogee canopy, and the others none. The whole of this once magnificent front has been wretchedly tampered with, and even the design of the rose window was altered (about 1720) from the form shewn in the old prints to one of miserable poverty.

Dart, writing in 1723, says: — "This stately portico is now lately beautified, the time-eaten sculpture and masonry pared away, the Gothic order justly preserved, and the whole adorned with a magnificent window designed by the ingenious Mr. Dickenson, Surveyor of the building."

I should mention that the name of "Solomon's Porch" was, I believe, really applied to a large porch erected against the central portal in the reign of Richard II.

It is a question on which much difference of opinion exists,

whether a central tower was ever contemplated. This feature was nearly universal among the great English churches of the period; but as this church was designed on a French type, and as the churches of the period in France very seldom have central towers, it seems most natural to suppose that it was not intended to have erected one here. On the other hand, Sir Christopher Wren distinctly states that the commencement of a tower existed in his time; indeed, in one of Hollar's views there are clear indications of it, (and internally it is evident that the centre was not intended to be vaulted at the level of the nave and choir). M. Viollet-le-Duc also seems to think that even in France this feature had often been contemplated; so that it seems that there is as much to be said on one side as on the other. I cannot, however, think that the comparatively slender piers on the crossing (to the extreme beauty of which I should have especially called attention) could have been intended to carry, at the most, more than a very light structure. Even at Salisbury, where the piers are far more massive, the lower story of the tower is very lightly built, and clearly without any intention of supporting the enormous superstructure which has since been added, and under the weight of which it has become so terribly crushed.

The cloisters were carried by Henry III. and Edward I., in each case, as far only as their respective portions of the church extended. The part built by Henry III. occupies, as is so well known, a very singular position, being in fact within the walls of the church, and forming a lower story to the western aisle of the transept. This, as I conceive, arose from the position of the cloister being determined by the older works, and from the church of the Confessor having had no western aisle to the transept. King Henry, however, built the eastern wall of the cloister a few bays further than the cloister itself, for the purpose of forming entrances to the chapter-house and dormitory. Edward I. afterwards carried on the north walk of the cloister, just as far as he did the church itself. The other bays of that side were built late in the fourteenth century, in imitation of the older bays, an almost solitary instance of the style of one period being absolutely copied in a later work. We find here,

at the corner where they resumed the style of their own period, the singular anomaly of art—an Early English and a Perpendicular capital cut by them on the same block of stone, and their mouldings intersecting one another^k. The late imitators seem to have been sorely puzzled with the detached cusplings in the old circles, and to have made some very awkward attempts at reproducing it, or at least as to the mode of fixing it in its place.

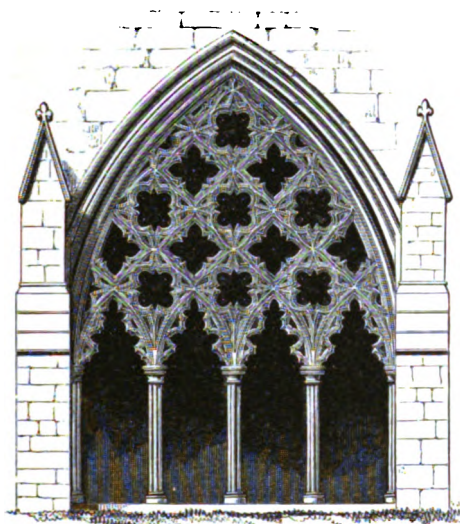
The doorway from the church next the cloister is a very fine work, but in a lamentable state of decay. The window openings of the early parts of the cloister have been glazed in their traceried heads only, the glazing being stopped upon a horizontal iron bar, grooved at the top to receive it, and running along the springing line of the arch. This system was continued in the later work; indeed, it was, I find, the customary mode of dealing with cloister openings. Those at Salisbury, Canterbury, and Gloucester, works of very different periods, were, I think, all of them glazed in this manner.

In the church we have no windows of more than two lights, so that the tracery is in its most normal form. In the cloister, however, the windows are of three lights, and the tracery is not only in circles, but in quatrefoils and trefoils, while in the chapter-house, as we shall presently see, were windows of four and five lights, shewing that the principle of window-tracery had been brought to a considerable pitch of development.

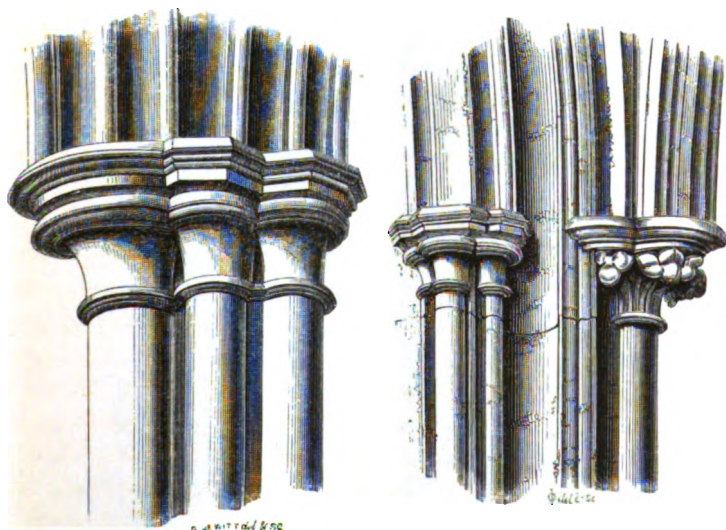
In all the circles in the tracery, whether in the church, the cloister, and, no doubt, in the chapter-house, the cusping was, according to the custom of the period, worked separately from the tracery, and fitted into grooves in its reveals, while the heads of *lights* are almost always left uncusped, the chapter-house forming, I think, nearly the sole exception.

One feature, more French than English, I may mention here: I mean the great width of the window-lights, which are generally between four and five feet wide, and must have afforded a noble scope to the glass painter.

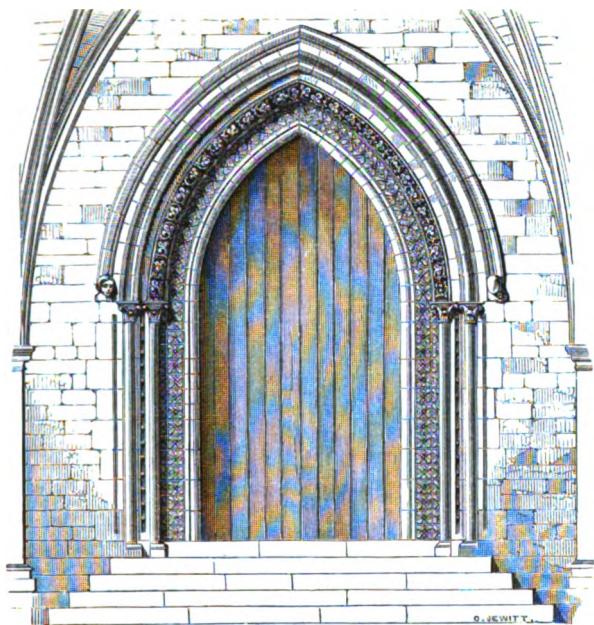
^k A similar instance occurs at the south-east angle.



Window in the East Walk of the Cloister, opposite the entrance to the Chapter-house.



Capital at the North-west Angle of the Cloister. Capital at the South-east Angle of the Cloister.



Eastern Doorway in the Cloister, Early English, c. 1250.



Western Doorway in the Cloister, Perpendicular, c. 1390.

We now come to the CHAPTER-HOUSE.

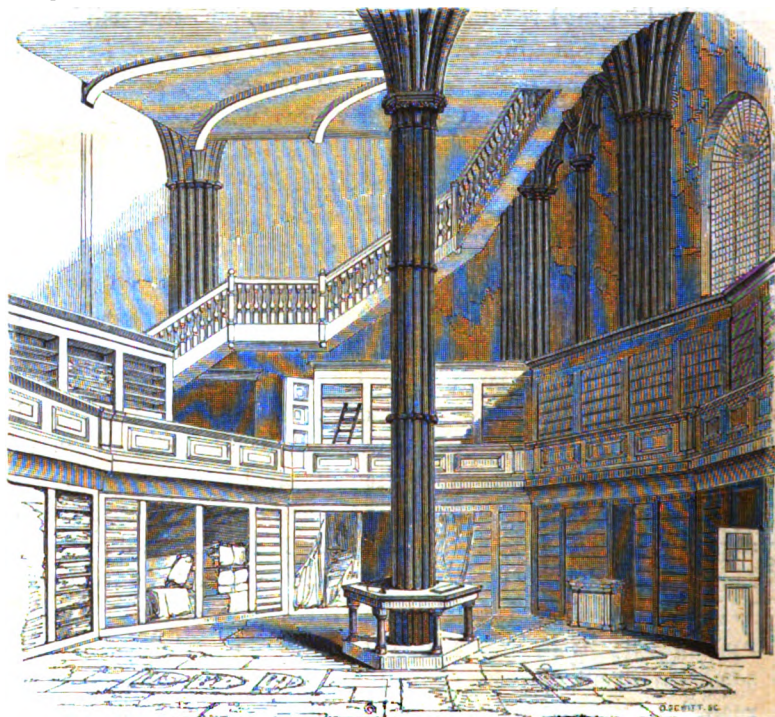
Matthew Paris, under the date of 1250, says, after stating that the king had rebuilt the church, "*Dominus Rex ædificavit capitulum incomparabile.*" I judge from this that he commenced it during that year. It was, indeed, an incomparable chapter-house! That at Salisbury was not yet commenced, and though evidently built in imitation of this, and having some features of greater richness, it still would have yielded the palm to its prototype at Westminster.

Its beauties, however, are unhappily now for the most part to be judged rather by imagination than by sight, for seldom do we see a noble work of art reduced to such a wreck! It appears that, as early as the days of Edward III. (certainly before 1340), it was made over, I suppose occasionally, to the uses of the House of Commons, on condition that it should be kept in repair by the Crown. In or after the reign of Edward VI., however, St. Stephen's Chapel being given up to the House of Commons, the chapter-house was converted into a public Record Office. In or about 1740, the vaulting was found to be dangerous, and taken down; and before this, in 1703, we find that Sir Christopher Wren having refused to put up a gallery in it, it was made over to the tender mercies of some barbarian, who fitted it up for the records, with studious regard to concealment or destruction of its architectural beauties.

I undertook, some years back, the careful investigation of its details, and such was the difficulty presented by the fittings and other impediments, that, though every possible facility was afforded me by the gentlemen in charge of the records, it occupied me (on and off) for several months.

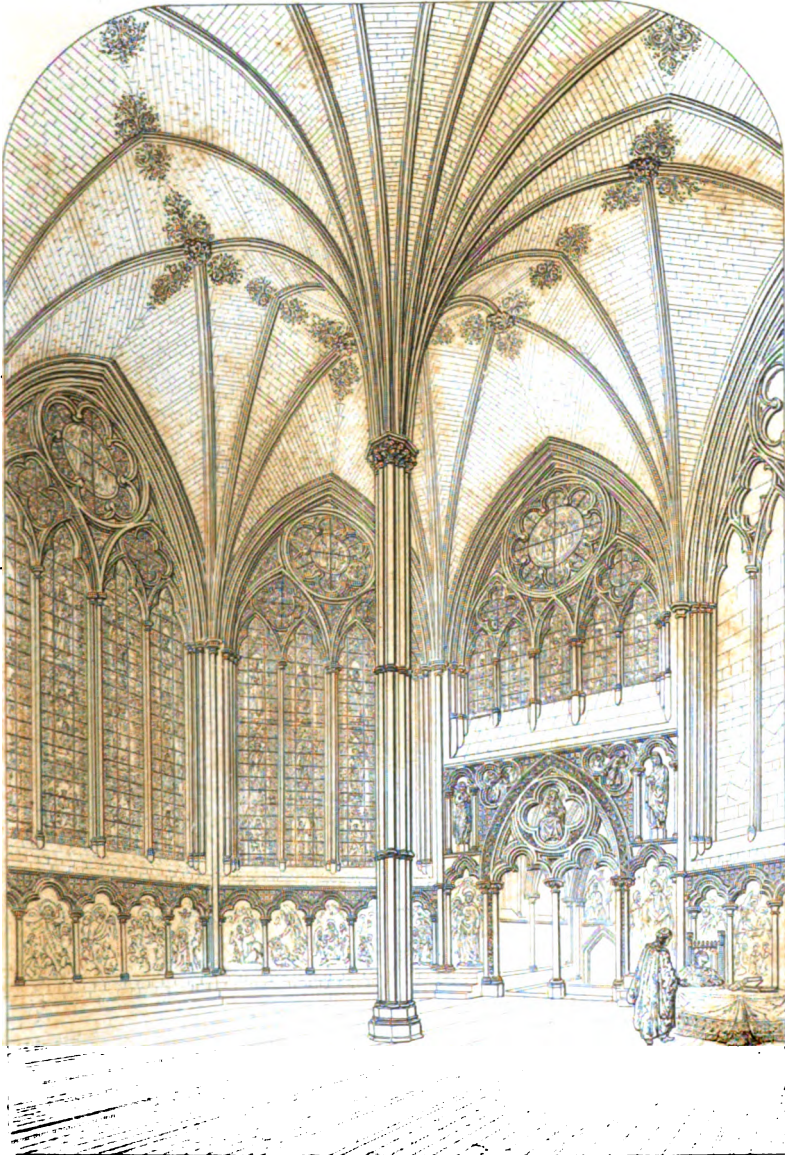
I believe, however, that I succeeded in getting at nearly every part of the design. The internal view which I exhibit (see Plate XIII.) was founded on the result of my examinations, and I think you will agree with me that a more elegant interior could scarcely be found. The diameter of the octagon is about 58 feet, and the height to the crown of vaulting about 54 feet. The diameters of those at Salisbury, Lincoln, and York seem all to be nearly the same with this; probably the polygons were in each case inscribed in a circle of about

60 feet diameter, measured, perhaps, in the clear of the vaulting-shafts.



The Chapter-house in its present state.

The central pillar still exists, and is about 35 feet high. It is entirely of Purbeck marble, and consists of a central shaft, surrounded by eight subordinate shafts, attached to it by three moulded bands. The capital, though of marble, is most richly carved. I may mention that on the top of the capital is a systematically constructed set of eight hooks of iron, for as many cross-ties. The same was the case at Salisbury, and I have no doubt that the hooks on the columns in the church are many of them original, and were intended for security during the progress of the works. The windows are almost entirely walled up, though a considerable part of the tracery, no doubt, remains imbedded. Their design is, however, readily ascertainable, one of them being a blank, owing to one face of the



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J. H. & Co. Revs. Sc.

RESTORATION OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

octagon being in contact with the transept of the church : a nobler four-light window could hardly be found.

The window over the doorway is most carefully walled up with ashlar, but from the bases visible on its sill, we see that it was of five instead of four lights,—no doubt to avoid the stumped look it might have had from being so much shortened by the height of the doorway and the abutting vestibule. I had often wondered that, while the windows generally are walled up with *brick*, this should be filled with *stone* ; but on taking out one of the ashlar stones to ascertain the section of the jamb, what was my surprise at finding them to consist entirely of the lengths of the moulded ribs of the lost vaulting, carefully packed, like wine bottles in a bin, with their moulded sides inwards ! I made a still more interesting discovery in the spandrels of the doorway below. The gallery crosses the head of this doorway, and the presses for records were fitted so closely to the wall that nothing could be seen. I was one day on the top of one of these presses, and on venturing to pull away an arris fillet which closed the crevice between it and the wall, I perceived the top of an arched recess in the wall behind the press, and on looking down into it I saw some round object of stone in the recess below. My curiosity being excited, I let down into it by a string a small bull's-eye lantern, when, to my extreme delight, I saw that the mysterious object was the head of a beautiful full-sized statue in a niche. Permission was speedily obtained for the removal of the press. The statue proved to be a very fine one of the Virgin, and in the spaces adjoining were angels censuring. I afterwards found that it formed part of an Annunciation ; the angel having been on the other side of the door. This last-named figure has, however, been long since removed into the vestibule. Its wings are gone, but the mortices into which they were fixed remain. Both are fine works, though not devoid of a remnant of Byzantine stiffness.

The doorway itself has been a truly noble one. It was double, divided by a single central pillar and a circle in the head ; whether pierced or containing sculpture, I have been unable to ascertain, as it is almost entirely destroyed. The

jamb and arch are magnificent. The former contain on the outer side four large shafts of Purbeck marble. Their caps are of the same material, and most richly carved, and the spaces between the shafts beautifully foliated. I exhibit casts of several parts of this doorway. The arch contains two orders of foliated mouldings, one of which, on either side, contains a series of beautiful little figures in the intervals of the entwined foliage. To get at some of the details of this doorway I had to creep on a mass of parchments and dust ten feet deep, and, after taking out the boarding of the back of the cases, to examine and draw, by the help of the little bull's-eye lantern before-mentioned; a most laborious operation, and giving one more the look of a master chimney-sweeper than an architect.

The walls below the windows are occupied by arcaded stalls with trefoiled heads. The five which occupy the eastern side are of superior richness and more deeply recessed. Their capitals, carved in Purbeck marble, are of exquisite beauty. The spandrels over the arches are diapered, usually with the square diaper so frequent in the church, but in one instance with a beautifully executed pattern of roses. One of the most remarkable features in the chapter-house is the painting at the back of these stalls. The general idea represented by this painting would appear to be our Lord exhibiting the mysteries of redemption to the heavenly host. In the central compartment, our Lord sits enthroned; His hands are held up to shew the wounds, and the chest bared for the same purpose; above are angels holding a curtain, or dossel, behind the throne, and on either side are others bearing the instruments of the Passion. The whole of the remaining spaces are filled by throngs of cherubim and seraphim. The former occupy the most important position, and are on the larger scale. In the two niches, to the right and left of the central one, are two cherubim nearly of human size. They occupy the centre of the niches, and with their wings nearly fill them. Their heads are of great beauty, and are very perfect, and apparently painted in oil. They have each six wings, two crossing over their heads, two spreading right and left, and two crossing over the knees. The prevailing colour of the wings is blue,

the symbolical colour given to cherubim; and the feathers have eyes like those of the peacock, to carry out the idea, "they were full of eyes within." One of these principal angels holds a crown in each hand, and the other a crown in one hand, and something like a gem with two depending strings in the other, symbolizing the rewards of heaven purchased by the redemption. On one of them the names of Christian virtues are written on the feathers of the wings, as, e.g., *officii sincera plenitudo*; *voluntatis discretio*; *simplex et pura intentia*; *munditia carnis*; *puritas mentis*; *confessio*; *satisfactio*; *caritas*; *elemosina*; *orationis devotio*; *simplicitas*; *humilitas*; *fidelitas*, &c. In the outer niches were several cherubic figures of smaller size, their faces strongly expressive of sorrow at seeing the wounds of the Saviour; and in the background above and the foreground below are throughout a multitude of seraphim, whose prevailing colour is, as usual, red, and the expression of the faces most striking. All the figures have gilt nimbi of rich patterns. The whole is executed in a highly artistic manner, and though the features are in some cases not quite consistent with the ideal of angelic beauty, the expressions are very striking. I imagine the painting to have been executed about the middle of the fourteenth century, which is, I find, the same as the opinion arrived at by Sir Charles Eastlake. In some other parts of the arcade are paintings of a very inferior character and of much later date. They represent the earlier scenes in the Apocalypse. I have not noticed any merely decorative painting, excepting in the heads of the five principal stalls, which are coloured and gilt.

The Chapter-house is approached from the cloister by an outer and an inner vestibule. The former is entered by the magnificent portal, which you must all so well know, in the cloister. It is a double doorway, the outer arch of which is of two foliated orders; one of them contains in the entwined foliage a series of figures forming a Radix Jesse. The tympanum is exquisitely decorated with scroll-work, and formerly contained a sitting statue (probably of the Virgin and infant Saviour), under a niche, and supported on either side by angels, which yet remain, and the more perfect of which is very beautiful.

This doorway was magnificently decorated with colour and gold, traces of which are still clearly visible.

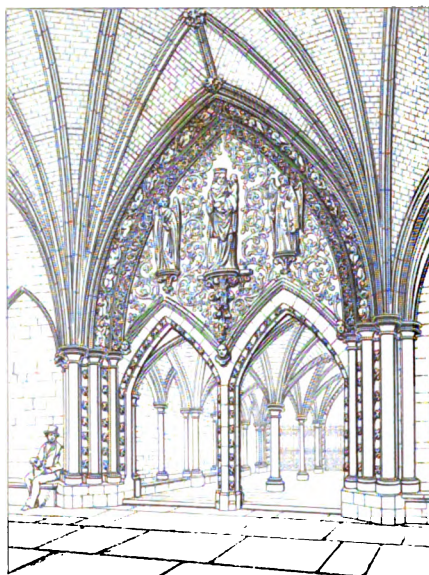


Foliage over the entrance to the Chapter-house.

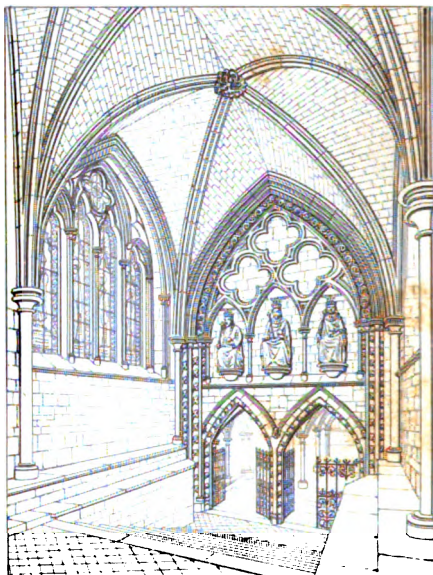
It is in a most lamentable state of decay, but I have, as I trust, arrested the progress of disintegration, by a process which I am largely making use of throughout the interior of the church, and which has already been applied to the wall-arcading and the triforium almost throughout the church, as well as to the majority of the royal monuments. Its effect is to harden and set the crumbling surface, so as to stereotype the work in the state in which it now is. The surface is so tender, that we cannot venture to touch it before the operation is performed. We therefore merely blow away the dust with a pair of bellows, with a long flexible tube and nozzle, and inject the solution with a syringe perforated with a number of small holes, so as not to disturb the crumbling surface, which, after the operation, becomes quite hard and rigid.

The outer vestibule is exceedingly low, owing to the neces-

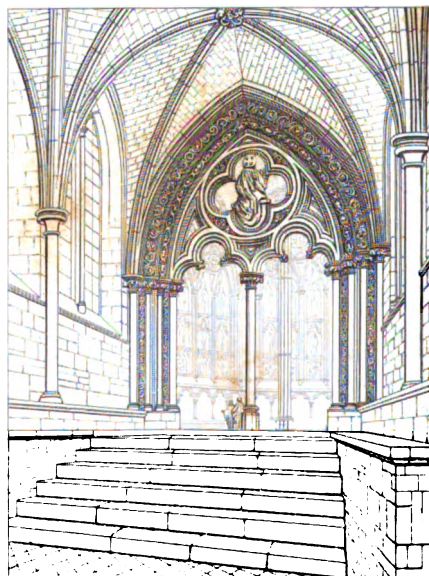




1. ENTRANCE FROM THE CLOISTER

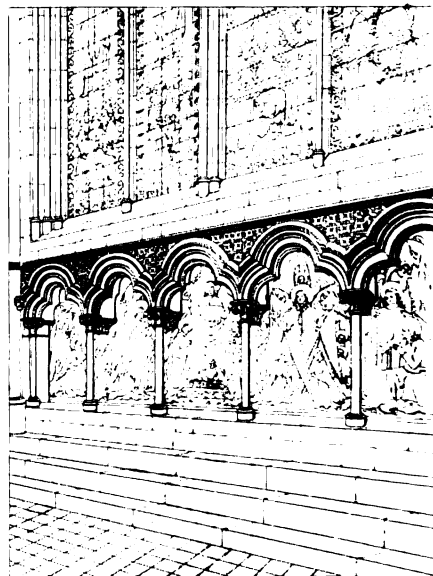


2. VESTIBULE TO THE CHAPTER HOUSE



G. G. Scott A.R.A. Arch^t

3. THE INNER ENTRANCE



J. H. St. John Esq.

4. EASTERN STALLS

RESTORATION OF THE CHAPTER HOUSE WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

sity for the dormitory to pass over it to effect its communication with the church. It is vaulted in two spans, supported by small Purbeck marble columns. The bosses of the vaulting are of great merit. The vaulting was, till recently, mutilated, to allow of a staircase to the room above, now the library; but on discovering and restoring the ancient staircase, which I shall presently mention, I was able to complete this vaulting, and to remove a brick wall which divided the vestibule in its length, and enclosed the marble pillars. On the side which had been enclosed the ancient paving remains, deeply worn by the feet of the monks.

From the vestibule are doorways on either side, the one into the old revestry of the church, (now walled up,) and the other into a curious chamber, which I shall have to describe.

At the further end of this vestibule is a second doorway, leading into the inner vestibule, which is very different in its design. Being free from the depressing cause before mentioned, it rises to a considerable height, and contains a flight of steps occupying its whole width and leading to the great portal of the chapter-house. It is vaulted in one span, divided into two unequal bays, one of which has contained a remarkable window, now destroyed, but of which, by cutting into the walls, I have been able to gain some clue to the design. On the opposite side are two windows, now walled up, which gave a borrowed light to the altar in the revestry, erroneously known as the Chapel of St. Blaise.

The floor of the chapter-house is probably the most perfect, and one of the finest encaustic tile pavements now remaining. It is, happily, in a nearly perfect state, having been protected by a wood floor.

I have thoroughly examined it, and find it to be arranged in parallel strips from east to west, the patterns changing in each strip, though repeated on the corresponding sides. Many of the patterns are most noble in their design, and some of extraordinary delicacy and refinement. The uniformity of the pavement is in one place disturbed by the insertion of a number of tiles containing figures, such as St. John giving the ring to the Confessor, &c. Many of the patterns have been pretty

correctly copied by Mr. Minton in the pavement of the Temple Church, and many are given by Mr. Shaw in his recent work on "Encaustic Pavements."

Of the external details of the chapter-house scarcely a trace remains; decay and mutilation have brought their work to a final completion. Nor am I aware of any old prints or description which would aid in the recovery of the design. But I have recently spied out from the window of a neighbouring house a small portion of external tracery, which I had not seen before¹.

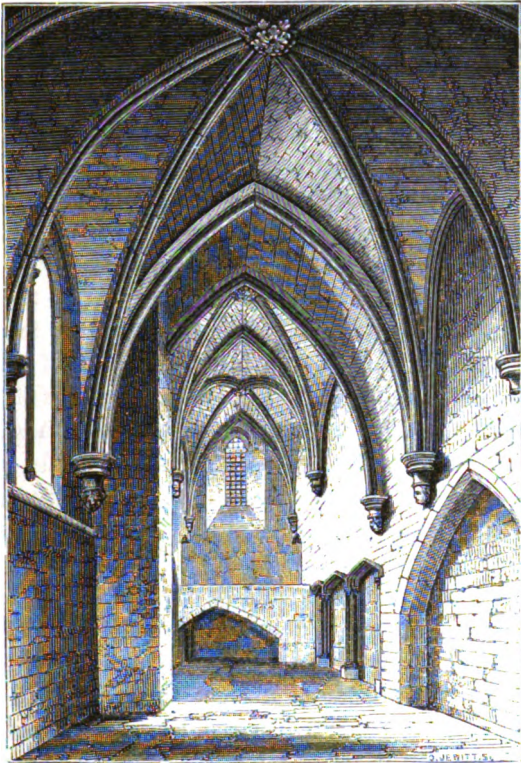
The records are now in great measure removed, and soon will be entirely so. Let us hope that the Government will recollect the condition of five centuries back,—that they should keep the building in repair, and that they will give it up to the Chapter, with a restoration fund proportioned both to the extent of the dilapidations and the merits of the building. I have omitted to mention that the chapter-house is raised on a crypt, which is vaulted, like the superstructure, on a central pillar. This pillar is round, and, curiously enough, is carefully hollowed out at two stages, as if for the concealment of valuables. The crypt contains a recess for an altar, with piscina, locker, and the marks of a screen. The crypt was filled up some feet above its natural level with earth, but I have lowered this to the original level^m.

I mentioned just now the two doorways which open (or once opened) from the other vestibule, and the chambers into which they led. Allow me to describe these chambers.

¹ I have since examined this carefully, and find that the external mouldings, &c. of the windows were exactly like those of the interior. Some few others of the external features have been preserved by the buildings which till recently abutted against them.

^m It is a curious fact that the walls of the crypt are about 17 feet thick, while those of the superstructure are scarcely 5 feet. This is rendered the more perplexing by the fact that at about 5 feet from the external face there appears to be a straight joint in the thickness of the walls, as if the chapter-house had been built *round* the crypt of an earlier building. The whole of the internal surfaces, however, appear of the later date, and I find that the axis of the crypt produced westward would not coincide with any of the divisions of the Confessor's buildings: otherwise I should have supposed that the crypt contained, as the nucleus of its walls, those of the Norman chapter-house.

One is now mistakenly called the Chapel of St. Blaise; but in the older accounts is denominated the Old Revestry. It occupies a space which is very frequent in abbeys, intervening between the transept and the entrance to the chapter-house,



Chapel of St. Blaise, or the Old Revestry.

and often called by the expressive name of "the slype." It is little known to visitors of the Abbey; but it is a most picturesque, and, as I think, beautiful room, and the skill shewn in rendering so irregular a space sightly, and in vaulting it methodically, is very remarkable. Its main approach (now its only one) is the doorway in the centre of the south transept. This doorway, we are told by Dart, was "enclosed with three doors, the inner cancellated, the middle, which is very thick, lined with skins like parchment, and driven full of nails. These

skins they, by tradition, tell us were some skins of the Danes tanned, and given here as a memorial of our delivery from them. The doors are very strong, but were, notwithstanding, broken open lately, and the place robbed."

Of these doors only one now remains; but we see the marks of the others. This offensive custom of lining the doors of sacred treasuries with leather, made, not I conceive from the skins of Danes, but from those of persons executed for sacrilege, was, no doubt, intended as a means of terrifying less hardened depredators, but was not always effectual.

As this chamber is lofty, and intervened between the dormitory and the church, it was necessary to provide means for the monks to cross it, to get to their nocturnal services. This was effected by a kind of bridge at the west end of the chamber, from which the doorways are still visible which led from the dormitory into the church, and from the latter of which there was a detached winding staircase in the corner of the transept, where now Roubiliac's monument to the Duke of Argyll stands. It is shewn in all the old plans, and was probably removed to make room for that monument. The western division of the chamber was clearly the vestiary. It had in Dart's time "a set of cranes of wood, swinging as if in a rack, on which formerly the copes and vestments in common use were hung". In the triforium there is a quadrant-shaped cope-box, probably belonging to the revestry. There are several aumbreys in the walls. The eastern portion was, however, clearly a chapel; indeed, the vestries of our old churches were generally chapels, as is shewn by the piscinæ almost always, and the altars occasionally, remaining in them. The altar-step and some traces of the lower course of the altar still remain. The former has a curious semicircular projection in its centre.

Over the altar still remains a full-length figure painted on the wall. It is a female figure, crowned, holding a book in one hand, and in the other carrying, apparently, a gridiron, or possibly some musical instrument; immediately below it is

* Some racks of a similar description remain still, or did lately, in a forsaken vestry at Aylesbury Church.

a small painting of the Crucifixion, and on one side is the figure of a monk in the attitude of prayer, from which, in the direction of the principal figure, are painted the following lines :—

“ Me, quem culpa gravis premit, erige Virgo suavis;
Fac mihi placatum Christum, deleasque reatum.”

Whether the “culpa gravis” consisted of a disregard of the human hides placed, *in terrorem*, upon the door, and this painting was the penitential offering of a pilfering monk, I leave others to judge. I have never been able to discover what saint this figure represents, nor the meaning of the badge which she bears. It is, on the whole, fairly drawn, though unduly elongated, and appears to have been painted in oil.

To the south of this altar are the borrowed lights from the inner vestibule of the chapter-house, already mentioned; the adaptation of the vaulting to suit these windows is exceedingly skilful and elegant.

This most interesting room has, unhappily, been long used for the reception of all sorts of odds and ends, to its great disfigurement and injury. It was there that the iron-work torn down from the royal tombs at the time of the coronation of George IV. was deposited. Of this I have had the happiness of restoring a considerable part (that to the tombs of Queen Eleanor and of Henry V.) to its place, but some yet remains.

The other chamber I wish to describe is a very different one. It is a low vault, forming an imperfect portion of one of the bays of the Confessor’s work, already described, and containing a portion of one of the Saxon columns. Within it, however, is a separate structure of less early date, and long used as a wine-cellar. This inner structure is built up to the old vaulting, but has a low and sloping covering of stone. When I first entered this place I was much perplexed to guess its meaning, but, after somewhat lengthened consideration, it occurred to me that it was the substructure of the original stairs to the monks’ dormitory, which idea agreed well with the existence of a walled-up doorway opposite to it in the cloister. I, about the same time, happened to notice in the manuscript *Lives of the Abbots*, preserved in the library, that one of them (Abbot Byrcheston) was said to be buried opposite

the vestibule of the chapter-house, and near the entrance to the dormitory; a definition of their relative positions which at once confirmed my idea, and at the same time pointed out the walled-up doorway, close to the portal of the vestibule, as having been the entrance to the dormitory.

I obtained leave of Dean Buckland to make an opening in the wall by which the doorway was blocked up, but was at first impeded in my examination by finding that the space within the door was filled completely up with that useful material technically known as "dry rubbish," which, on the perforation being effected, shot down like an avalanche into the cloister. After taking out some cart-loads, we came to the sloping platform, from which, however, I was disappointed at finding that the steps had been removed, excepting a portion of the bottom one, which still remained in its place, and was of Purbeck marble.

The sill of the doorway was worn deeply with the feet of the monks, and more so on one side than on the other, shewing that only one leaf of the folding-doors was generally used.

In the dry rubbish were many interesting fragments; among which were some embossed and coloured mouldings, like those in St. Stephen's Chapel. This now forms, once more, the entrance to what was the dormitory, but now the library.

But let us return for a few moments to the chamber below.

On the inner side of the door I found hanging from beneath the hinges some pieces of white leather. They reminded me of the story of the skins of Danes, and a friend to whom I had shewn them sent a piece to Mr. Quekett, of the College of Surgeons, who, I regret to say, pronounced it to be human. It is clear that the door was entirely covered with them, both within and without. I presume, therefore, that this, too, was a treasury; and I have a strong idea that it then formed a part of, and that its door was the entrance to, the Pyx Chamber, and it is possible that, after the robbery of the chamber before alluded to^o, the King, finding that the terror of human skins offered no security, remodelled the chamber, and intrusted the safety of his treasury to the less offensive, but more prosaic, defence of massive and double doors and multitudinous locks.

^o See p. 10.

I have one more tale to tell about this chamber of mystery. There is between the walls which carry the stairs and the wall of the chamber itself a long and very narrow interval, just wide enough to squeeze through. When I gained access to this chamber, now more than ten years back, on going along this narrow crevice, I found its floor heaped up several feet deep apparently with stones and rubbish. While standing on this heap, I was puzzled by finding it spring beneath my feet, and stooping down and clearing away a little rubbish, what was my astonishment at finding that I was standing on a large heap of parchment rolls! It proved, however, to be less of a find than I at first hoped, for it consisted mainly of packets of ancient writs from the courts of justice, interesting only from their age, which varied, I think, from Edward III. to Henry VII. There were also a number of fragments lying about of little turned boxes of wood. An unhappy accident intervened. I happened suddenly to be called for a few minutes from this newly-discovered record office, and forgetting to lock the door, a party of Westminster school-boys got in, and, unmindful of the human skins, made free with the parchments. A little disturbance ensued, a fresh padlock was shortly afterwards put to the door, and I have been excluded for ten long years from my treasury; though, as I understood that the parchments had been cleared away, I soon ceased to stand disconsolate at the gate of this dusty Eden.

While preparing the present paper, however, I again obtained admission, when, to my surprise, I found my old friend the parchment heap still where I had left it in 1849. I now examined it quietly, and succeeded in turning up a number of the little boxes of which I had before seen the fragments only. They are small turned boxes of poplar, or some other soft wood, not unlike an ordinary tooth-powder box, but a little larger. The covers are sewed on with a leather or parchment thong; and on the underside are usually written a few words describing the contents. On opening them I found that each contained one or more little parchment deeds with seals affixed; they seem all to relate to the affairs of private individuals; and their great interest is in the earliness of their dates, which

vary, as far as I have ascertained, from the time of Henry III. to that of Edward III. They are, many of them, in a perfect state of preservation,—in fact, as fresh almost as when new, and are beautifully written, and the seals are often very good.

Among the parchments were lying fragments of encaustic tiles of beautiful patterns, similar to some of those in the chapter-house, and the glaze ~~as~~ fresh as to lead one to think they had never been trodden upon.

Since then the whole mass of parchments, &c., has, by the direction of the Dean, been carefully removed into the Abbey library, where they will be duly examined and cared for. The lower part of the heap was one mass of decay. I have no doubt that they had in former times been carefully stowed away in the space below the dormitory stairs, but had been turned out when this was converted into a wine-cellar; which, by the dates of the lots of wine chalked up over the bins, was at least sixty or seventy years back.

The next work in date to that of Edward I. seems to have been the alteration of the refectory and the completion of the eastern walk of the cloister. Of the former I can find no record. The windows and doorways are of good Middle Pointed character; but of the latter we have a full account in the Fabric Rolls, shewing that it was erected in and about the year 1345, by Abbot Byrcheston. It comprises the rich vaulting over the outer portion of the chapter-house, with the very remarkable window opposite to it, and the adjoining bays as far as the end of this side of the cloister. The vaulting of the principal bay was richly decorated with gold and colour, and the central boss retained at the commencement of the present century the pulley for raising a light in front of the chapter-house door.

The completion of the cloister was commenced in 1350, by Abbot Langham, (afterwards archbishop and cardinal,) and proceeded slowly but regularly throughout the whole of his abbacy, and was completed by his successor, Abbot Litlington, in 1366; under whose direction, indeed, while prior, the previous works had been carried on. We have here, again, a period of architectural transition. Byrcheston's work of 1345 is the purest

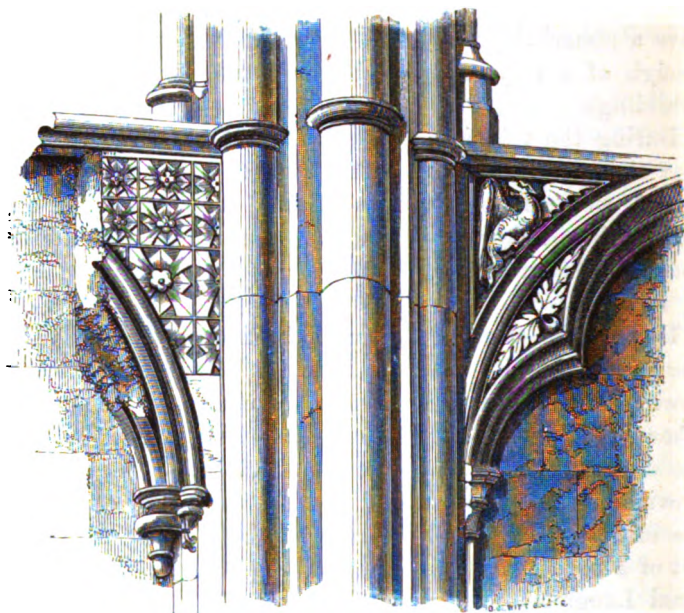
flowing Decorated; but the remainder is very early Perpendicular, so far as we can see, for the tracery is gone from the southern or earlier range. This side we know was in hand in 1355, and one of the two doorways in it (I think the smaller) was inserted in 1358; but even taking the year in which the whole is distinctly stated to have been completed, 1366, we have a remarkably early date for work distinctly Perpendicular though of a very superior character, and very elegant in its mouldings.

During the reigns of Edward II. and III. it does not appear that the rebuilding of the church was proceeded with; indeed, we find many entries of small sums expended on repairing its windows, &c., and on whitewashing the interior of the old Norman nave.

During the reign of Richard II., however, the rebuilding was proceeded with. We find entries of the cost of breaking down the old walls, and considerable outlay for stone, marble, labour, &c., shewing that the work proceeded vigorously. About the same period—indeed, commencing in the latter part of the previous reign—most extensive works were here carried on in the monastic buildings. These were for the most part paid for out of a bequest, and, perhaps, out of previous gifts, from Cardinal Langham, who, as we have seen, had been abbot here, and made the fabric of the Abbey his residuary legatee. The works in question were carried out by his very active successor, Abbot Litlington, in whose time were erected (besides the south, the west, and the remainder of the north walks of the cloister which had been commenced in Langham's time) the abbot's house, including its hall and great chamber, (the former now used as a dining-hall for the King's Scholars, the latter well known as the Jerusalem Chamber,) the sacrist's, cellarers' and infirmarers' houses, and a number of other buildings.

From this time the nave slowly progressed till the dissolution of the monastery, the west window being finished by Abbot Esteney in Henry the Seventh's time, and the western towers left unfinished by Islip, the last abbot worthy of the name. The most remarkable characteristic in these later works

is their continuing the general design of the earlier portions; not copying the details, as was done in the cloister, but applying details of their own period to the general forms of the preceding age. So that, to a casual observer, the building presents throughout its interior a homogeneous appearance.



Spandrels in South Aisle of Nave, shewing the junction of the work of the thirteenth century with that of the fifteenth.

There is one part of the interior of the older portion of the fabric which I have not yet more than cursorily alluded to,—I mean the gallery in which the archives of the church are kept. It occupies the space above that portion of the cloister which passes through the aisle of the south transept. It is approached by a door opening on to the roof of the cloister to the south of the transept. The first bay you enter has from an early period been enclosed by timber partitions, plastered over to form a room for the more important muniments. On this plastered partition is a large outline painting of the White Hart, the badge of Richard II., shewing the early date of the obstruction; but the other two bays form a gallery

or upper aisle, open to the church. The details of the upper portions of the aisles may be advantageously studied from this gallery, and, on its own account, it is worthy of a visit. The shortened columns—that is to say, the parts of them which rise above the gallery—are treated as entire pillars with bases of their own, presenting a singular contrast to the lofty proportions to which the eye has become accustomed. The views into the church from this chamber are picturesque and beautiful in the highest degree.

The contents of the chamber are highly interesting, consisting of a number of large oaken chests in which the muniments are deposited. Several of these are evidently of the thirteenth century, and are very curious. There is a handsome trunk of later date in the enclosed space, containing the original indentures of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, being agreements with, I think, nineteen different parties, (abbots and other authorities,) binding them and their successors to see that the rules of his foundation are carried out; but the long-headed King was not wise enough for his generation, for his own bluff son cut the ground from under him, by abolishing the offices the holders of which he had made responsible for the performance of his injunctions. I have no doubt that the contents of these ancient coffers would throw much light upon the architectural history of the Abbey. The particulars I have given of the works from the time of Edward III. onwards, were, by the permission of the Dean and Chapter, extracted a few years since from the Fabric Rolls by my kind and able friend Mr. Burt, of the Record Office, and have been communicated to me while this lecture has been in hand.

I will here mention that several of the chests in the Pyx Chamber closely resemble those in the muniment-room; so much so, as to make it evident that they also were made in the thirteenth century, and even by the same men. There is, in the Pyx Chamber, another of the same date and higher finish; it contains dies of mediæval coins, and has iron-work of very good character. Others are of different subsequent dates; one of them, made of oak and covered with leather, is very much like that of Henry VII. just alluded to; another is made of

deal and thickly plated with iron. There is among them a very curious leather case, strapped with iron, and stamped all over with fleurs-de-lis, exactly agreeing with descriptions of the cases of ancient documents given by Sir Francis Palgrave. There is also among them another curious leather case, apparently to receive a vessel of some kind.

Having now gone generally through the fabric, I will next advert briefly to some interesting documentary information from the public records which has quite recently been communicated to me by Mr. Burt. Of the kindness of this gentleman I cannot speak too strongly. He has, while my paper has been in hand, given himself infinite trouble in searching for notices of the works, and with very considerable success. I am aware that the details of antiquarian documents are not well suited to a paper like this, and I will therefore only advert to a few important points.

The first of them is this. As Westminster Abbey is about the earliest work with perfected tracery in this country, and as the building of the first portion of it by Henry III. extended over a space of twenty-four years, i.e. from 1245—1269, it becomes important to ascertain how early in this period the style of its architecture can be proved to have been defined. Now, a single entry in the documents in question has for ever settled this point. I have before stated that the most advanced part of the work (as to style) is the chapter-house, as that contained traceried windows of four and five lights in a very developed form, the tracery not confined to circles, but containing great quatrefoils, and the heads of the lights being trefoiled, which is not the case in the church. Now, it would be most useful to know the exact date of these windows, for though Matthew Paris gives 1250 as the year of commencement of the chapter-house, it may have spread over an indefinite length of time, and the windows have belonged to twenty years after that date. Let us look, then, to the bills. Here we find in a roll, bearing date 37th Henry III., or 1253, and expressly called the eighth year from the beginning of the work, an item of "300 yards of canvas for the windows of the chapter-house,"

followed immediately by items for the purchase of glass, shewing that the windows in question were completed in 1253, which I see was the year before the King, in company with St. Louis, visited the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, which was then scarcely completed, and the style of which indicates exactly the same degree of advancement. (See Plate V.) I find also that during the same year the beautiful entrance or vestibule to the chapter-house was erected. (See Plate XIV.)

The church itself was by this time—indeed, as early as 1249—in a state of rapid progression, so that the architecture must, in the main, have been quite settled from the time of its commencement.

The entries found by Mr. Burt are, for the most part, of a somewhat general character; but it is stated in the Pipe Rolls that further particulars have been sent in to the Treasury. These bills of particulars have, it is feared, been for the most part lost; but Mr. Burt has succeeded in finding one complete one for about half-a-year, probably 1253, which is of so interesting a character that we publish it, with notes by Professor Willis, in continuation of this series of papers. It is a perfect bill of quantities of the work done during twenty-five weeks, giving the names and measurements of every moulding, and every detail of the work, and forms a very curious and interesting illustration of the architectural nomenclature of the period. Attached to it are two amusing little letters from the quarry-master at Purbeck, promising ship-loads of marble, and begging for speedy orders on the ground of other pressing business.

The notices I have adverted to in the Fabric Rolls of the works from Edward the Third's time onwards are also very detailed, and give curious particulars as to the mode of employing men at that time. They appear to have been fed and clothed by the employer, and the clothing would appear to be by no means to be complained of. In one year we have an entry of 15s. (equal to eight or ten pounds) for a fur robe for the chief mason; but another year nothing entered for his robe, because this independent gentleman "refused to receive it on account of the delay in its delivery."

Going back to the earlier accounts, I may mention that extensive works appear to have been going on at the same time in the palace and its chapel, including a great deal of decorative painting; also that the belfry of the Abbey was being built, which stood somewhere northward of the church, and of which, I believe, that some remains existed at a somewhat recent date.

The outlay upon the Abbey during the first fifteen years of the work, would, if translated into our money value, considerably exceed half-a-million. I must not, however, follow up these details on the present occasion.

I have dwelt so long upon the fabric that I must content myself with a cursory notice of a few of the internal contents of the church, to which I chance to have paid particular attention.

That most remarkable work, the Shrine of the Confessor, has been so largely dwelt upon before the Royal Institute of British Architects, when the subject was brought forward a few years back by Professor Donaldson, that it would be superfluous to go again into the minutiae of the investigation, to which I devoted a great amount of time, and was ably followed up by my talented friend Mr. Burges.

I will content myself with a summary of results.

Shortly after my appointment to the Abbey, in 1849, I was led, owing to a visit paid to the church by Le Père Martin with myself and some members of the Ecclesiological Society, to devote a good deal of attention to ascertaining, so far as possible, the ancient form of the shrine; the results of which I gave in a correspondence with a leading member of that Society. I removed the brick wall which then blocked up the west end, and exposed the marks shewing where the altar had been fixed, and came to the conclusion that the pillars now at that end were formerly detached, and probably carried lights. Probably they were the 'feet' which King Henry III. is said to have given for certain lamps to be burned before the shrine^p.

^p Mr. Burges has since discovered, from illuminations in a manuscript preserved in the University Library at Cambridge, that these columns did not bear lamps, but figures of St. John and the Confessor.

The retabulum occupies, as I ascertained, its proper position, excepting that it has been lifted three inches above its original level, a fact proved by its intercepting the space required for the completion both of the ancient and the more modern inscriptions, for neither of which there is now sufficient room.

The front and what is seen of the back of the retabulum, being decorated with mosaic, and the edge left plain, it follows that the latter must have been more or less concealed. I judge, therefore, that the detached pillars must have been placed very close to them.

Extracts have been kindly communicated to me by Mr. John Gough Nichols, from diaries kept during the days of Queen Mary, shewing that the body of the Confessor had been removed, and the shrine wholly or in part taken down at the Dissolution, but restored in Queen Mary's time, when the present wooden shrine⁴, the cornice, the modern inscription, and the painted decorations were added. I am inclined to think that the marble substructure was only taken down far enough to allow of the removal of the body, as its parts have been displaced in refixing so far down as that, but no further. The altar either had not been removed, or was probably re-erected at the same time, and was, I think, not removed again till the Great Rebellion, being needed at coronations, on which occasions a table has since been substituted under the old name of "the altar of St. Edward." I found at the back of where the altar has stood a slab, apparently taken from some monument of the seventeenth century and used as material for repairs, which confirms this idea. There is, in Abbot Litlington's Service-book in the Library, in the initial of the Service for St. Edward's day, a view of the shrine, though I fear an imaginary one. The substructure is speckled over to represent the mosaic work, but the seven arched recesses for pilgrims to kneel under, which really occupy two sides and an end, are all shewn on one side! The shrine itself is shewn lower than was usual, and a recumbent figure of the Confessor is shewn on its sloping covering. I will only add that I opened the ground round the

⁴ I do not know whether the present wooden structure is of this or of a later date: it certainly *looks* later.

half-buried pillars at the west end, and found them to agree in height with those at the east, which they so much exceed in diameter, and that I have been so fortunate as to recover the broken parts of one of the eastern pillars, and to refit and refix its numerous fragments with the help of one new piece of only a few inches in length, so that we have now one perfect pillar.

In connection with the shrine I will allude to a little discovery which I have shewn to many, I dare say, now present. There is a sarcophagus-shaped slab in the floor immediately to the east of the shrine, which is said to commemorate a son of William de Valence who died young. The cross and inscription are nearly obliterated, but its eastern end is covered by the step to the tomb of King Henry V. A very painstaking friend and assistant of mine (Mr. Irvine), in examining the point of junction between the step and the slab, perceived signs of some substance being inlaid into the latter. I obtained permission to remove a portion of the step, when we found that the slab had been inlaid with brass and glass-mosaic, and was, no doubt, executed when the shrine was in hand.

A large portion of the pavement before the altar was executed by Roman workmen, and with materials brought from Rome by Abbot Ware, about 1267 or 1268. Of the curious inscription, a part giving the list of those concerned in the work is still legible, being "*Tertius Henricus urbs Odoricus et Abbas*;" Odoricus being the artist, and "*urbs*" of course meaning Rome, as is proved by Ware's own epitaph, which says, when speaking of these stones, "*quos huc portavit ab urbe.*"

It is curious that both in the monuments inlaid with glass-mosaic, and in the pavements in which the inlaying material is chiefly porphyry, the artists, as a thing of course, adopted, as the matrix, Purbeck marble in place of the white marble they were accustomed to use in Italy.

The tomb of King Henry III. is too well known to need description here, but that of some of his children and grandchildren in the south aisle is but little noticed; indeed, its Italian forms so much resemble those of a modern monument that it usually passes for one.

Taking the tombs of the Confessor, of Henry III. and his

daughter, and of young De Valence, in connection with the pavement before the high altar, and that of the Confessor's Chapel, I should doubt whether—I will not say any church north of the Alps—but, I may almost say, whether any country north of the Alps, contains such a mass of early Italian decorative art; indeed, the very artists employed appear to have done their utmost to increase the value of the works they were bequeathing to us by giving to the mosaic work the utmost possible variety of pattern.

Another object which does not receive the attention it deserves is the retabulum from the high altar, now preserved in a glass case in the south-eastern aisle.

It is a very wonderful work of art, being most richly decorated with glass, gold, and painting, and probably with precious stones, and even with casts of antique gems. The glass enrichments are of two sorts: in one the glass is coloured, and is decorated on its face with gold diaper; in the other it is white, and laid upon a decorated surface. The great charm, however, of the work must have been in the paintings. They consist of single figures, in niches, of our Lord and SS. Peter and Paul, and two female saints, and a number of small medallion subjects beautifully painted*.

Next to the Italian tombs, one of the most interesting is that of William de Valence. I am not aware whether any old account of this monument exists, but I suppose we may fairly set it down as a French work, and probably executed by an artist from Limoges, though the custom of referring all enamel works to that particular seat of the art is not, I think, borne out by facts; indeed, it would appear from the old accounts that enamels for the shrine of the Confessor were executed here, whether by an artist from Limoges is unknown, though we know that one was employed in England shortly afterwards.

The execution of these enamels is truly exquisite—so much so that it is only by the closest examination that any idea can be formed of the wonderful delicacy of the workmanship.

* An excellent description of this work is to be found in Sir Charles Eastlake's "*Materials for a History of Oil Painting*."

The monument was thus described by Keepe, 1683 :—

“ A wainscot chest, covered over with plates of brass, richly enamelled, and thereon the image of De Valence, Earl of Pembroke, with a deep shield on his left arm, in a coat of mail with a surcoat, all of the same enamelled brass, gilt with gold, and beset with the arms of Valence, &c. . . . Round about the inner ledge of this tomb is most of the epitaph remaining, in the ancient Saxon letters, and the rest of the chest covered with brass wrought in the form of lozenges, each lozenge containing either the arms of England or of Valence, alternately placed one after the other, enamelled with their colours. Round this chest have been thirty little brazen images, some of them still remaining, twelve on each side, and three at each end, divided by central arches that serve as niches to enclose them ; and on the outward ledge, at the foot of each of these images, is placed a coat of arms in brass enamelled with the colours.”

Since this time the greater part of what is above described has disappeared, shewing that the spoliation of the Abbey is not generally chargeable against the rebels, but has gone on in modern times during the contemptuous domination of Classic taste.

The tomb of Queen Eleanor, with its exquisitely elegant effigy, is too well known to need any description from me. I have had the privilege, since my connection with the Abbey, of promoting the restoration to it of the beautiful piece of iron-work which overhangs it, and which had been removed in 1822. The effigy, with that of Henry III., was executed by an artist named Torrell, supposed by Sir Richard Westmacott, I think without evidence, to be an Italian. It is one of the finest which remains in any country.

Were this paper devoted to the monuments alone, I would have attempted a description of the tomb of Edmund Earl of Lancaster, brother to Edward I., and of Aveline his wife. These magnificent monuments, viewed as architectural works, seem to be intimately connected with several cotemporary works, especially the Eleanor crosses, and the tombs of Archbishop Peckham at Canterbury, and of Bishop de Luda at Ely, all executed between 1290 and 1300. One of their special

characteristics is the extreme closeness with which nature is followed in their foliated carvings, every portion of which is taken directly from some actual plant, with no further conventional treatment than was necessary to adapt it to its position. These works occupy the middle position between the conventional foliage of the earlier and the almost equally conventional foliage of the later divisions of our architecture. It is, in fact, a mistake to call the foliage, even of the later parts of the Decorated style, *natural*. The use of really natural foliage is very seldom found after the end of the thirteenth and the few earliest years of the fourteenth century, and marks, if I may so say, the resting-place between the conventionalism of *approach* and the conventionalism of *departure* from nature; the conventionalism of strength and of weakness—of vigour and of lassitude.

But the most remarkable characteristic of the two monuments is the splendour of their decorative colouring. The figure sculpture, though possessing considerable merit, is not so fine either as in the nearly cotemporary monuments of Henry III. and of Eleanor, or in the somewhat later one of Aymer de Valence. The effigy of Edmund is, however, a very noble and dignified work.

The adjoining tomb of Aymer de Valence is evidently an imitation of those last described, but does not equal them either in its architecture or its decorations, though far exceeding them in the merits of its sculpture. I have seen no old accounts of this tomb, but I fancy that the sculpture is French, both from a decidedly French character in the architectural carving of the niches which contain the statuettes, and from the similarity of the statuettes themselves to some of the same period preserved in the Hotel Cluny at Paris.

These, and the effigy itself, rank among the finest specimens of mediæval sculpture.

The tomb of Queen Philippa stands, perhaps, next to them in beauty and interest. It is undoubtedly a foreign work, as in the account of its cost, still extant, it is said to have been executed by one "Hawkin Liege, from France." Its character seems to me rather Flemish than French, and very possibly

the artist may have been from Valenciennes, the seat of her father's court.

The monument, as you will recollect, consists of an altar-tomb of dark marble overlaid with niches of open-work in white alabaster. These niches contained thirty statuettes of different personages, connected by relationship or marriage with the Queen. Nearly the whole of the tabernacle-work, though shewn as perfect in the prints of the early part of the last century, has since disappeared.

The end of the tomb has been immured in the lower part of the chapel of King Henry V., and thinking it probable that the tabernacle-work and statuettes might remain within the enclosing masonry, I obtained permission of Dean Buckland to make an incision into it, which I found could be done without injury to the later monument: I was so fortunate as to find several niches in a tolerably perfect condition, with two of the statuettes quite perfect, and a number of fragments of others. I found also in the tabernacle-work a most beautiful little figure of an angel with the wings of gilt metal. The figure had lost its head, but I was so fortunate as to discover it enveloped in a lump of mortar. I found also enough of the architectural features to serve as a guide to the recovery of the entire design. Mr. Cundy, the Abbey mason, made from the information thus obtained a restored reproduction of the end of the monument, which he exhibited in 1851.

One of the niches and several other portions were afterwards found to be deposited in Mr. Cottingham's Museum, and having been purchased from him, have been refixed in their places.

One very curious feature in the design is a scroll like the crook of a pastoral staff between the niches at the angles of the monument; the architectural details had no decorative colouring, but the foliage was gilt. The arms were of course coloured, and the figures had beautiful patterns, chiefly in gold upon the draperies; the hair was gilt, the pupils of the eyes touched in with blue, and the lips with red. The head-dresses of the female figures are beautifully enriched with gold and colour. One of the heads was unfortunately broken off while opening it out, for I should mention that the figures were en-

closed in a solid mass of rubble-work. This head I had a cast made from, and the decoration exactly copied on it. I had also a cast made of the angel before mentioned, and most fortunate it was that I did so.

I afterwards most carefully replaced them with my own hands, fixing them in their places with shellac; but, though I told no one I had done so, and though they were quite out of sight, I was disgusted to find, the next time I examined the monument, that both of them had been stolen! They were so difficult of access that this act of wanton depredation could only have been effected by a person well acquainted with what had been discovered, and that with considerable difficulty. It is most deeply humiliating to think that persons capable of appreciating the value and interest attached to such objects, should be so utterly lost to all sense of honour and decency as to perpetrate such a deliberate robbery. I would not go so far as to flay this wretched being, as would, perhaps, have been done of old, but I should rejoice in the opportunity, according to the figurative expression still extant among our rural population, of witnessing the "tanning" of the rascal's "hide." If, however, what I have said should chance to meet his eye, let him know that there is still for him a *locus pœnitentiæ*, and that if he will anonymously restore what he has filched, his baseness shall be forgotten.

I should mention that the lost head is so like that of the Queen herself, that it is not improbable that it may have been intended for her, though she does not appear in the imperfect list of statuettes given in the old histories. The open-work of the niches over the head of the effigy itself has been filled in with blue glass. The magnificence of the entire work may be imagined when it is known that it contained, when perfect, more than seventy statues and statuettes, besides several brass figures on the surrounding railing.

Somewhat parallel to this, both in material and workmanship, was the monument of John of Eltham, brother to Edward III. I shall not enter into any description of this work, however, further than to advert to its beautiful canopy, which is thus described by Keesee:—"A canopy covering the whole with de-

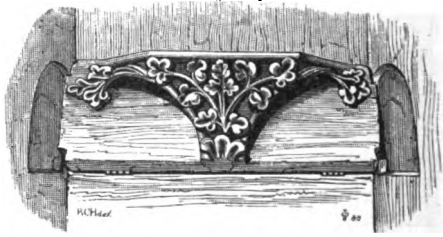
licate wrought spires and mason's work, everywhere intermixed and adorned with little images and angels, according to the fashion of those times, supported by eight pillars of white stone, of the same curious wrought-work."

This canopy is shewn in Dart's view of the monument, but it was taken down about eighty years back, on the ground of insecurity. It has often been stated that portions of it were preserved at Strawberry Hill, but I have never been able to ascertain the truth of this. If any one should know of the existence of such fragments, I should be truly obliged by their informing me of them.

The original stalls of the choir seem to have been retained in a more or less perfect state till late in the last century. They are shewn in the view given by Dart; and in that given in Sandford's account of the coronation of James II. the canopies are shewn supported by single shafts. I observed, when the new stall-work was being put up in 1848, that a closet under the organ was lined with old boards which appeared to have formed a part of the back of the ancient stalls, for I could distinguish, by the discoloration of the wood, the form of a trefoiled arch supported by a shaft with a band at half its height. At a later period, on looking into this closet, I was glad to see the boarding still there; but, on looking into it again while preparing this paper, I found that our careful clerk of the works had caused it to be neatly painted, so that this little memento is lost.

There remains, however, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel one of the ancient Early English misereres, and a fragment of another has been preserved. They have both good Early English foliage*.

There is a great fund of minor subjects on which a se-



Miserere of the thirteenth century, preserved in Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

* There were found in the hall of the King's Scholars two remnants of the original stall-ends, with Early English carving. See Abbot Litlington's Hall.

parate paper could be very advantageously written, but I must leave them unnoticed on the present occasion¹. I have gone over my ground as rapidly as I was able, but have more than doubled the allotted time, but Westminster Abbey is at least worthy of an extra hour; and I will only add, that I recommend all students of Gothic architecture residing in London to devote to it every extra hour they have at their command. London has been pretty much denuded of its mediæval remains, but like the Sybil's books, those which remain are worth as much almost as the whole; and to live in a city which, amidst its gloomy wilderness of brick and compo, contains so glorious and exquisite a work of original art as this, is a privilege which few other cities could offer us. *Let us make use of it.*

THE ALTAR SCREEN.

THE question has sometimes been asked, "What was the origin of the present altar-screen, which, though executed in artificial stone, backs up and seems to form a part of the beautiful fifteenth-century screen which faces the chapel of King Edward the Confessor?"

We learn from Neale that the marble altar-piece erected in the time of Queen Anne was taken down in 1820, during the preparations for the coronation of King George IV.

"On removing the altar-piece," he says, "it was discovered that the west front of the screen, against which it had been built and fastened to with

¹ Among other things I should have given a description of the Coronation Chair, and of the figures remaining in the panels of the old sedilia, commonly called the tomb of King Sebert. The former is a truly magnificent piece of decoration, but sadly mutilated. The decorations are somewhat peculiar; the whole seems to have been gilt on a thick coating of gesso, and while still soft, the foliage, &c., to have been traced upon the gold, and indicated merely by pricking the outline and the intervals between the leaves. Of the eight figures in the sedilia two only remain perfect. They appear to have been slightly touched up, but are mainly original. They represent, I believe, King Henry III. and King Sebert. The figure of King Edward the Confessor, on the back, which is given by Malcolm in his *Londinium Redivivum*, can now with great difficulty be distinguished. The painting in the canopy of the tomb of Richard II. ought also to have been noticed. The diapered ground is still very perfect, but the painting of the figures has almost entirely perished.

iron cramps, was wrought in a similar style of rich sculpture to the east front; though, from the dilapidations it had sustained at *different* periods, its original beauty was altogether deteriorated. The architraves and cavettoes of the doorways still displayed considerable remains of elegant and deeply-perforated foliage, and many remnants of sculptural ornament, including various pieces of a painted and gilt cornice, fragments of gilt foliage, mouldings, lions' heads, &c., were found among the rubbish. The whole screen, indeed, had been richly embellished with gilding and painting; the ground was, generally, either of a red or azure colour, but had been covered with whitewash. All the projecting parts of the large niches at the sides had been cut away; and the central part was formed into a large square recess or panel. Whether there had ever been any historical sculptures on the entablature, to correspond with those on the east front, could not be ascertained, the whole frieze having been converted into a deep cove."

Mr. Neale also states (writing in 1822 or 23) that the Dean and Chapter had determined to restore the screen as nearly as possible to its ancient state, and that working drawings for the purpose were then making from actual admeasurements under Mr. Wyatt's direction. The work was executed in artificial stone by M. Bernasconi; and Mr. H. A. Smith, a well-known architectural modeller, informed me some time since, that he worked on the restoration when a boy, and he gave me a fragment of the old work which he had then picked up; it is beautifully executed in fire-stone, and coloured red. Mr. Smith also wrote for me to Mr. Brown, who had acted at the time as foreman to M. Bernasconi, and who has kindly sent me the following information. He says that the cove was left plain, but had been originally filled with subjects in sculpture, as that on the other side, but that they had been so mutilated that it was impossible to restore or even to make out the subjects; the canopies were copied from the old ones, excepting the patterns of their vaultings, which were varied; but in restoring which, however, they followed one pattern only: the mouldings were strictly copied from the originals; there were no remnants of the figures in the niches; there was a piece of cresting or brattishing found, but they thought it did not seem to be original.

G. G. S.

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S CHAPEL.

HENRY THE SEVENTH'S Chapel has been so frequently engraved with all its beautiful details^a, and is so thoroughly well known, that any account of it here may appear superfluous, yet our Gleanings would be very incomplete if we passed it over entirely, and though we cannot expect to discover anything new about it, our readers may be glad to be reminded of some of the leading points relating to it. Any account of the Abbey church would be obviously incomplete without the Lady-chapel belonging to it, and though not commonly so called, this magnificent chapel clearly is the Lady-chapel at the same time that it is the mortuary chapel of the monarch whose name it bears. The original Lady-chapel was undoubtedly on the same site, but in all probability it was not so large^b: in mentioning the original Lady-chapel we mean only that belonging to the church of Henry III., for it is certain there was no such appendage to the church of Edward the Confessor; the fashion did not come in until after his time, nor before the latter part of the twelfth century.

It is hardly necessary to observe that this chapel is the richest specimen in existence of that peculiarly English style commonly known as the Tudor style, and of that very remarkable and admirable kind of vaulting known as fan-tracery vaulting, which is also peculiar to England. It is too much the fashion to depreciate and run down this style because it belongs to the latest period of Gothic art, and naturally, therefore, wants the boldness and vigour of the earlier styles; but it

^a The best works are "The History of Westminster Abbey," by E. W. Brayley, with Plates by J. P. Neale, usually called Neale's Westminster Abbey, 2 vols., 4to., 1818; and Cottingham's "Henry the Seventh's Chapel," imperial folio, 1817, a series of large lithographical plates with all the details.

^b In addition to the Lady-chapel founded by Henry III. in 1220, an adjoining tavern, called the White Rose, and the small chapel of St. Erasmus, built by Elizabeth Widville, queen of Edward IV., were pulled down to make room for the present chapel.

is far from being devoid of merit, and the strong hold which it has on the popular mind, to which it is always more attractive than the more severe early style, is itself a proof of merit. We may consider the elaborate ornament as very much overdone in the eye of a more pure taste, but there is no denying that it has great richness of effect, and for the vaulting, that fan-tracery vaulting is the highest development of skill in construction, not only in the architect but in the workmen.

This point, of the necessity of a gang of skilled workmen accustomed to work together, for the production of the great works of medieval art, has not been sufficiently attended to. The fables of the Freemasons have produced a natural reaction, and the degree of truth which there is in their traditions has consequently been overlooked. We know that each of our great cathedrals had a gang of workmen attached to it, in regular pay, almost as a part of the foundation, for the fabric fund could not be lawfully diverted to any other purpose; and these workmen became by long practice very skilful, more especially the masons, or workers in and carvers of free stone, as distinct from the labourers, who merely laid the rubble-work for the foundations and rough parts of the fabric. From various indications it would appear that there was also a royal gang of workmen in the king's pay, by whom the great works ordered, and perhaps designed, by the king himself were constructed. The wills of Henry VI. and Henry VII. seem to shew that those monarchs were, at least to some extent, architects themselves; they give the most minute directions for the works to be done, just as any architect might have done. St. George's Chapel, Windsor; King's College Chapel, Cambridge; and Henry the Seventh's Chapel were probably all executed by the royal gang of masons.

It is on record that the work of the Divinity School in Oxford was suspended for several years in consequence of the skilled workmen being sent for to Windsor by a royal writ: the very beautiful and scientific vault of the Divinity School does not receive the attention which it deserves, being so much nearer to the eye than the others, giving it the advantage so far that it can be more easily examined. It seems probable that the office held by William of Wykeham, and at a later time by Sir

Reginald Bray, was in fact that of chief of the royal masons, and it may be in this manner that Sir Reginald Bray has long had the credit of giving the designs of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, although there is no evidence that he even gave the idea of it; he died soon after the foundations were laid.

The low estimation in which the style of this chapel is held by our modern *dilettanti* is really unjust; each style has its own merits; we may prefer one without depreciating the other. Very different was the estimation in which this Tudor style was held by our ancestors: old Leland called it *Orbis Miraculum*, or "the Miracle of the World," and so it was long esteemed. Perhaps this exaggeration one way, has produced the present reaction to the other extreme. We should bear in mind that the chief architect of France, M. Viollet-le-Duc, warmly and honestly acknowledges his admiration of the English fan-tracery vaulting, which is quite unknown in France; and he points out the reason of this,—that the French vaults are constructed on a different principle, much more simple, and much cheaper, but much less scientific than the English, and that French workmen, accustomed to work in their own way, could not have built a fan-tracery vault.

The following is the account of the foundation of the chapel given by Holinshed:—

"An. Reg. 18; 1503. 'In this eighteenth year, the twentie fourth daie of Januarie, a quarter of an houre afore three of the clocke at after noone of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapell within the monasterie of Westminster was laid, by the hands of John Islip, abbat of the same monasterie, Sir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, doctor Barnes maister of the rolles, doctor Wall chapleine to the kings maiestie, maister Hugh Oldham chapleine to the countesse of Darbie and Richmond the kings mother, sir Edmund Stanhope knight, and diuerse others. Vpon the same stone was this scripture ingraven: "*Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, posuit hanc petram, in honore beatæ virginis Mariæ, 24 die Januarij; anno Domini 1502: Et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi decimo octauo.*" The charges whereof amounted (as some report, vpon credible information as they say) to foureteene thousand pounds 'c.'"—(*Neale*, vol. i. p. 6.)

^c Equal to about 28,000*l.* of our money.

Stow repeats the same account: the only additional information which he gives is that the stone was brought from Huddlestone quarries in Yorkshire^d.

The best history of this chapel is, after all, to be found in the will of the royal founder, which was conscientiously followed by his executors, excepting that the design of the altar was changed according to the new fashion which had come in before it was executed:—

“ ‘ And forasmoeche as we haue receved our solempe coronacion, and
 ‘ ffor the King’s holie Inunccion, within our monastery of Westm’, and
 ‘ Sepulture,’ that within the same monasterie is the com’en sepulture
 of the Kings of this Reame; and sp’ially bicause that within the same,
 and among the same Kings, resteth the holie bodie and reliques of
 the glorious King and Confessour Sainct Edward, and diuse other of
 our noble progenitours and blood, and sp’ially the body of our graunt
 Dame of right noble memorie Quene Katerynè, wif to King henry the
 Vth., and daughter to king Charles of ffrance; and that we by the
 grace of God, p’opose right shortely to translate into the same, the
 bodie and reliques of our Vnole of blissed memorie King Henry the
 VIth., ffor theis, and diuse other causes and consideracions vs sp’ially
 moevyng in that behalf, we Wol that whensoever it shall please our
 Salviour Jehu Crist to calle vs oute of this transitorie lif, be it within
 this our Royme, or in any other Reame or place withoute the same,
 that oure bodie bee buried within the same monastery; That is to saie,
 ‘ The King’s in the CHAPELL where our said graunt Dame laye buried;
 Chapell.’ the which Chapell we have begoun to buylde of newe,
 ‘ The King’s in the honour of our blessed Lady. AND we wol that
 Towmbe.’ our TOWMBE bee in the myddes of the same Chapell,
 before the high Aultier, in such distaunce from the same as it is ordred
 in the plat made for the same Chapell, and signed with our hande: In
 which place we Wol, that for the said Sepulture of vs and our derest
 late wif the Quene, whose soule God p’donne, be made a Towmbe of

^d It is singular that the stone brought from so great a distance at an enormous expense should have ultimately proved so bad that the whole of the exterior has had to be entirely renewed: but it did last about three hundred years, whereas the stone, also brought from Yorkshire, for the Houses of Parliament, built in imitation of this chapel, seems likely to perish in thirty, and this after the country had been at great expense in making enquiries and experiments by the most scientific men of the day; and yet there stand the ruins of Roche Abbey, and various other buildings of the once despised Middle Ages, as sharp and as fresh as the day the stone was cut, more than six hundred years ago.

Stone called touche, sufficient in largieur for vs booth : And upon the same, oon ymage of our figure, and an other of hers, ^{'The King's Ymage.'} either of them of copure and gilte, of suche faction, and in suche maner, as shalbe thought moost conuenient by the discrecion of our executours, yf it be not before doon by our self in our daies. And in the borders of the same towmbe, bee made a conuenient scripture, conteynying the yeres of our reigne, and the daie and yere of our decesse. And in the sides, and booth ends of our said towmbe, in the said touche vnder the said bordure, wee Wol tabernacles bee graven, and the same to be filled with Ymages, sp'cially of our said avouries, of copur and gilte. Also we Wol that incontinent after our decesse, and after that our bodye be buried within the said towmbe, the bodie of our said late wif the Quene bee translated from the place where it nowe is buried, and brought and laide with oure bodye in our said tombe, yf it be not soo doon by our self in our daies. Also we Wol, that by a conuenient space and distaunce from ^{'The grate for the towmba.'} the grees of the high Aultier of the said Chapell, there be made in lenght and brede aboute the said tombe, a grate, in maner of a Closure, of copur and gilte, after the faction that we have begoune, whiche we Wol be by our said Executours fully accomplished and p'fourmed. And within the same grate, at owre fete, after a conuenient distaunce from our towmbe, bee maid an Aultier, in the honour of our Salviour Jh'u Crist, streight adioynying to the said grate, At which Aultier we Wol, certaine preists daily saie masses, for the weale of our soule and remission of our synnes, vnder such maner and fourme as is couenanted and agreed betwext vs, and th'abbot, Priour and Conuent, of our said monasterye of Westm^r., and as more sp'ially appereth by certaine writings indented, made vpon the same, and passed agreed and concluded, betwix us and the said Abbot, Priour and Conuent, vnder our grete Seale and signed with our owen hand for our partie, and the conuent Seale of the said Abbot Priour and Conuent for their partie, and remayneng of recorde in the Rolles of our Chauncellary.

“ And if our said Chapell and towmbe, and oure said wifs Ymagies, grate and closure, be not fully accomplished and p'fitely finisshed, according to the premisses, by vs in our lif-tyme, we ^{'The finishing of the King's Chapell, ymagies, grate, and Closure.'} then Wol, that not oonly the same chapell, tombe, ymagies, grate and closure, and every of theim, and al other thinges to them belonging, with al spede, and assone after our decesse as goodly may be doon, bee by our executours hooly and p'fitely finisshed in eūry behalve, after the maner and

fourme before rehersed, and sutingly to that that is begounes and doon of them : But also that the said Chapell be deaked, and the windowes of our said Chapell be glased, with stores, ymagies, armes, bagies and cognoisaunts, as is by vs redily diuised, and in picture deli'ed to the Priour of saint Bartilmews besids Smythfeld, maister of the works of our said Chapell ; and that the walles, doores, windows, Archies and Vaults, and ymagies of the same our Chapell, within and w'tout, be painted, garnished and adorned with our armes, bagies, cognoisaunts, and other conuenient painteng, in as goodly and riche maner as suche a werk requireth, and as to a King's werk app'teigneth.

“‘AND for the more sure p'fourmance and finisshing of the premisses, and for the more redye payment of the money necessary in that behalf, we have deli'ed in redy money before the hande, the some of v Mli, to the Abbot, Priour and Conuent, of our said Monastery of Westm., as by writings indented betwixt vs and theim, testifieng the same payment and receipte, and bering date at Richemount the thretene daie of the moneth of Aprill, the xxiii yere of our reigne, it dooth more plainlie appiere : the same five thousand pounds and every parcel thereof, to be truly employed and bestowed by th'Abbot of our said monastery for the tyme being, about and vpon the finisshing and p'fourmyng of the premisses from time to tyme, as nede shall require, by th'advise, controullement and ou'sight, of such p'sones as we in our live, and our executours after our decesse, yf they be not doon in our live, shall depute and assigne, without discountynuing of the said works or any parte of theim, till thei be fully p'formed, finisshed, and accomplished.’”—(*Neale*, vol. i. pp. 7, 8.)

A number of indentures are extant between the king and the abbot and convent of Westminster for the more effectual carrying out of the royal intentions for the service of the chapel. Some of these are preserved in the Public Record Office, others in the library of the Dean and Chapter. The king took, as he thought, every possible precaution, but he little foresaw the great change which was to come over his realm in the time of his son, and how futile all his precautions would prove, so far as the letter of them is concerned. Let us hope that the spirit of them is not lost, and as the object of the king was the perpetuation of the true Christian faith in his realm, and in his Abbey of Westminster, that this object will never be lost sight of, as it certainly is not by the present Dean

and Chapter. The reform of abuses is very far from destroying the main object.

One of these indentures will suffice to shew the minute care bestowed by the king on his object :—

“ ‘ This Indenture made betwene the moost cristen and moste excellent Prince kyng henry the seventh by the grace of god kyng of Englande and of ffrance and lord of Irland the xvi daye of July the nynetene yere of his moost noble reigne and John Islipp Abbott of the monastery of Seynt Petre of Westm.’ and the Priour and Convent of the same monastery, Witnesseth, ’ &c.—

“ After providing for the saying of certain collects, psalms, and orations, during the King’s life and after his decease, it proceeds thus : ‘ And the said Abbot Prior and Convent covenanten & graunten and theym and thair successours bynden to the said king our Souayn lord and his heires and successours by these presents, that the same Abbot Priour and Convent and their successours from the date of these p’sentes shall provide ordeigne have fynde and kepe ppetually for ever While the world shall endure thre monks of thordre of Saynt Benet in the said monastery ouer and above the noubre of the monks that ought to be had and susteyned in the same monast’y by reason of the fundacion thereof or orderwise. In which mona’sty the said kyng oure sou’ayn lord willeth & determyneth by godds g’ce his body to be buried and enterred : and where it is the very mynde will and entent of the said king our sovereyn lord to have thre chauntry monks Docto’s or bachelers of Divinite in the same monastery there ppetually whill the world shall endure to say daily masse divine s’vice w’ p’yers observ’nce & ceremonies & in such man’ fourme tymes ordre and places as hereaft’ ensueth in these Indentures. fforasmoch as there be nowe noo such Docto’rs ne batchelers of the same monast’y mete and hable for the same Chauntries and service ouer and beside the Abbot Priour and Monks daily of the said monastery therfor,’—the Abbot &c. covenant that ‘ thre monks of the said monks now being or that hereafter shall be Scholers in the vniuersite of Oxenford do take the degree of batchelers of Divinite in as brief and convenient tyme as may be had and done;’—the said monks to say daily mass and divine service, whilst the world shall endure, for the King and Realm, ‘ the soul of the Princess Elizabeth the late Quene his wif,’ their children and issue, Prince Edward the King’s father, and Margaret his mother, ‘ and after the decease of the said king oure Souvrayn lord, then to pray specially and principally for the soule of the same kyng our sou’rayn lorde and

also for the soule of the same quene and the soules aforesaid and all cristen soules With suche observaunce and ceremonies and in suche places tymes man' fourme and ordre as hereafter ensueth. That is to say, that the said thre chaunt'y monks and ev'y of theim at the Aultier under the lantern place* betwene the Quere and the high Aultier in the said monastery, till the Chapell of oure lady in the said monastery which oure saide sou'rayn lord the kyng hath nowe begon be fully edified and bilded at the coste and charges of oure said Sov'rayne lord the kyng his heires or executo's, and a tombe there made for thenterment of the body of our said sou'rayn lord the kyng and a closure of metall in maner of a Chapell made therabout and an Aultier enclosed within the same at the coste and charge of the said kyng our sou'rayn lord his heires or executo's, which Aultier vndre the said lanterne place and also an herse with a hundreth Tapers standing vpon and aboute the same be nowe p'vided and there made and sett by our said sourayne lord the kyng there to stonde vnto the tyme the said Chapell of our Lady and tombe w^t the said closure therabout, and the Aultier within the same be so made, shall say their masses daily, except the dayes called Shevethursday Goodfryday the Vigill of Ester and the dayes of coronacions of Kynges and Quenes of Englande cristenyng of thair children and enterrement of the body of any King or Quene of Englande or any of thair children in the same Monastery and the daies necessary for the prepyng of the place vnder the said lanterne place for euery of the same causes, and the dayes necessary for the remou'ng of all such thinges shalbe brought sette and made in the said place vnder the said lanterne for euery of the said causes only. And that the said Abbot Priour and conuent, &c."—(*Neale*, vol. i. pp. 12, 13.)

It may be inferred from different circumstances, that before the king's decease in April, 1509, the building was completed to the vaulting; and the monarch, in his will, is particularly urgent that all the works be immediately "accomplished and performed." For this purpose, only nine days previously to his death, he delivered 5,000*l.* in "redy money, before the *honde*," to Abbot Islip; and directed, if that sum should be

* From this passage it is evident that there was at that time an open lantern over the central space "between the quire and the high altar," the quire being then, as now, in the eastern part of the nave, immediately to the west of the crossing or transept. Might not such an open lantern be easily constructed of wood and replaced; and would not such a restoration be a great improvement to the church?

insufficient, that his executors should advance to the said abbot as much more as might be requisite for the full completion of the edifice. Henry died on the 22nd of April, and was buried here with vast pomp on the 11th of May following. Between that time and the month of October, 1512, it is highly probable that the whole of the superstructure was finished, as an indenture was then entered into with Torrigiano, for the making of the royal tomb; the 'closure' for which had been commenced before the king's death. Four years afterwards, in 1516, another indenture was made with Torrigiano, for erecting a rich canopy and altar, "w^{thin} the new chapell which the foresaid late King caused to be made at Westm.," by the 1st of November, 1519. We may therefore assume, with every degree of probability, that the internal arrangements of this magnificent structure were entirely completed at that period.

The following extracts from Brayley's History will suffice to record the recent history of the fabric:—

"During the three centuries which had elapsed from the foundation of Henry's Chapel to the year 1803, it had undergone but little repair; and its external state had become so completely ruinous, that the safety of the whole fabric was endangered. Some years before this, indeed in 1793, it had been necessary to repair the roof; the expense, about 1,900*l.*, being defrayed from the revenues of the Church. Reparations on a more enlarged scale were projected, and the late James Wyatt, Esq., the surveyor-general, was employed in restoring a part over the eastern window, for the purpose of ascertaining the expense of repairing the whole, when the fire in the roof and lantern of the Abbey Church, which happened from the neglect of the plumbers, occasioned an almost immediate expense to the Dean and Chapter of 3,848*l.*, and thus depriving them of the means of proceeding with the intended repairs of the chapel.

"In this state of circumstances, the solicitude of every admirer of the architectural splendour of this edifice was highly excited; for at the very period when the fire happened, the two western turrets, which had been found to be in a most dangerous condition, were in progress of being taken down; the windows were propped with timbers, several of the 'flying buttresses, or cross-springers, had sunk through the decay of their abutments, and all the exterior ornaments, battlements, pinnacles, &c., were utterly dilapidated; so that the entire building

had assumed the appearance of an almost 'shapeless mass of ruin.' The south and south-east sides were particularly decayed; the weather having made deeper inroads upon those fronts than on the opposite sides.

"Whilst it was yet undetermined what measures to pursue, the late Dean of Westminster, Dr. Vincent, through whose indefatigable and most praiseworthy exertions this chapel is, in a very great degree, indebted for its restoration, was informed that, in a conversation on the subject which had taken place between Lord Grenville, the late Marquis of Buckingham, and other dignified persons, and in which the deficiency of the Dean and Chapter's pecuniary resources had been noticed, Lord Grenville had used the interrogation, *Why don't they apply to Parliament?*—The advice implied by this question was not lost; the Dean immediately addressed a Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury, accompanied by a letter, in which he requested to state to their Lordships the different proposals which had been made for repairing the chapel, together with an estimate of the expense, 'in order to procure their recommendation of the matter to Parliament.' The Memorial was dated on the 15th of November, 1806; and on the 5th of December, the Lords of the Treasury referred the consideration of the subject to the 'Committee for the Inspection of the Models for National Monuments,' &c. (generally called the 'Committee of Taste'); in consequence of which, and of further proceedings, a *Petition* from the Dean and Chapter was presented to the House of Commons, in June, 1807, with the approbation of the late King; and on the Report of a Committee appointed to examine into its allegations, the sum of 2,000*l.* was granted towards the projected repairs. . . .

"From which period the repairs were progressively carried on till they were entirely completed by the restoration of the western or stair turrets, and of the small windows of the side aisles, in the last months of the year 1822; the whole being finished and the scaffolds struck on Christmas Eve. In the base of the ornamental dome which crowns the south-east turret, the following inscription was cut:—'Restored 1809, Anno Regni 50 Geo. III. William Vincent, Dean; James Wyatt, Architect; Jeremiah Glanville, Clerk of the Works; Thomas Gayfere, Mason.'—Similar inscriptions were cut on other turrets, only varying in the date of the year in which they were executed, and in substituting the name of 'John Ireland, Dean,' for that of Vincent, after the decease of the latter.

"The aggregate amount of the Grants made by Parliament for the repairs of this chapel, is somewhat more than 42,000*l.*, which sum has

been expended in a manner that confers distinguished honour on all the parties concerned. The renovation of the external architecture has been complete; and, with the exception of the ornamental parts of the 'upper battlement,' as it is called, though in fact only a pierced parapet, all the ancient work has been correctly imitated; not alone in its general forms, but likewise in its exuberant detail of enriched panelling, embossed niches, fretted tracery, and heraldic and decorative sculpture. Were some portion of the national riches more frequently devoted to similar objects of elegant art, and to the general cultivation of the kindred sciences of literature and painting, it would conduce far more to the permanent renown of the empire, than the expenditure of all its treasures in the heart-sickening calamities of sanguinary warfare, however glorious its victories or extensive its dominions.

"As the judicious advice of the 'Committee of Taste' had determined the Dean and Chapter to have every part of this magnificent fabric restored, as nearly as possible, in exact conformity to the original building, there was but very little occasion for the interference of the Architect; all the labour of arranging the work, tracing out the details and ornaments, and supplying defects from corresponding parts, being left to the discretion and industry of the Mason. The task was an important one; and though it might not demand a genius of the first order, it required professional skill, a practised eye, and a sound judgment:—it is no eulogium to say that the execution of this task could not have been entrusted to a more capable artizan than Mr. Gayfere." —(*Neale*, vol. i. pp. 21—27.)

We hope that the advice given by Lord Grenville to Dean Vincent, and so judiciously acted upon by him, will not be lost sight of by the present Dean and Chapter, and that the Parliament of Queen Victoria will treat the Chapter-house with the same good taste and liberality which the Parliament of George IV. shewed in the case of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. The claim is a far stronger one, for in place of the decay of time only, as in the instance of the chapel, we have in the case of the chapter-house actual violence committed by Parliament itself, which first took possession of it for its own meetings, and then mutilated it for the purpose of turning it into a public record office, for which it was singularly ill-suited. We believe that to this day the remains of this beautiful structure are still the property of the nation, and not of the Dean and Chapter, as

it did not form part of the grant of Henry the Eighth. It is obvious that the Dean and Chapter cannot be called upon to repair a building which does not belong to them, and we trust that Parliament will not hesitate to restore to the Dean and Chapter not only the ruins of their beautiful Chapter-house, but will accompany the grant by such a sum as will enable them to put it into a proper state of repair. This appears to be only common justice. We hear that if Parliament will grant the ruins and 20,000*l.* towards the dilapidations, the Dean and Chapter are willing to undertake the perfect restoration of this beautiful building, the present state of which is a disgrace to the country.

We have been favoured by Mr. W. Burges with the following note respecting the Tomb of Henry VII. :—

Britton, in his account of Henry the Seventh's Chapel in the "*Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*," has printed two or three documents which give us very considerable information on the progress of the tomb and other portions of the chapel.

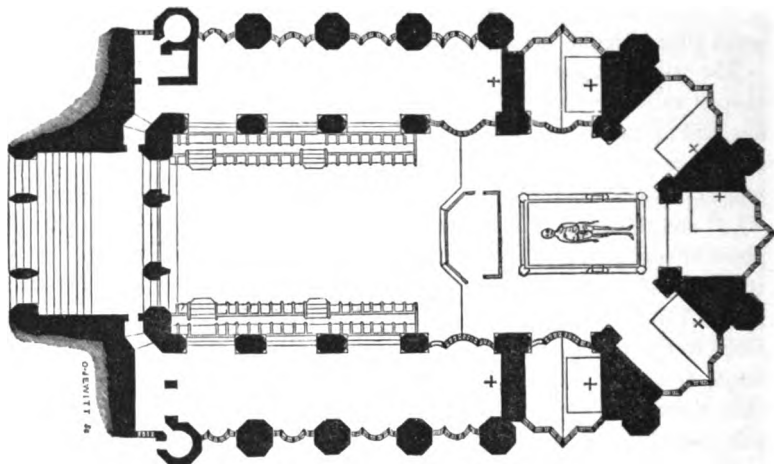
The first is the will of Henry VII. From it we learn that the original tomb was to be made of touch-stone, with copper-gilt recumbent effigies, while the sides and ends were to be occupied with small images of the King's patron saints, also in copper-gilt, within tabernacles, equally of touch-stone. The more general practice was to make the sides of the tomb of black marble with the tabernacles in white marble, but the testator in this instance would appear to have wished the whole to be in black. His tomb was to be contained within an enclosure of copper-gilt, which was begun at the time the will was written, and within it at the eastern end was to be erected an altar with a wooden dossel covered with plates of gold. Again, the enclosure was to stand in "the myddes of the same chapell before the high aultier," a position which is again indicated by the words, "That by a convenient space and distaunce from the grees of the high aultier of the said chapell there be made a grate." From this it would appear that the tomb was to be in the middle of the chapel and before the high altar, but this view of the matter is in direct contradiction to all the old plans of the building, for example, the one in the Thorpe drawings now in the Soane Museum, and what Sandford says in his *Life of Edward IV.*, all of which indicate the tomb as we see it at the present day. Now this raises the question as to whether the tomb has been

removed from its original place, say in the time of Queen Mary. It is just probable that the high altar was taken down in Edward the Fourth's reign, and afterwards re-erected by his sister: perhaps it was then thought that the tomb and its grille was in the way, and it was therefore removed to its present situation. However, Henry the Seventh's will was so much modified that it is very probable that the original arrangement was never carried out. Still it must be confessed that the more usual arrangement was to place the founder's tomb before the great altar of a chapel rather than behind it.

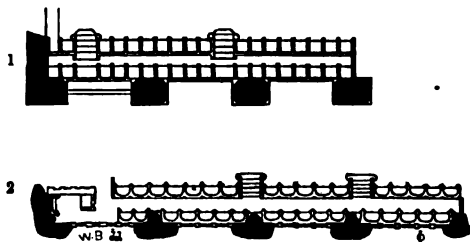
The will then goes on to speak of the "high aultre within our said chapell called our Lady aultre," and every other "aulter being within our said chapell of our Lady, bee thei of the sides of the same, or in any other place within the compasse of the same." Mention is also made of the "aulter of our said uncle of blessed memory King Henry VI.," and the beginning of the document tells us "That we by the grace of God propose right shortly to translate into the same (chapel) the body and reliques of our uncle of blessed memory King Henry VI." Now all this gives us the following altars:—1. the high altar, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; 2. the altar within the enclosure of the tomb, dedicated to our Saviour; 3. the altar of King Henry VI.: and then there are spaces for six more at the ends of the aisles, and in the side chapels of the apse. I conceive the ancient arrangement as originally contemplated to have been as follows:—In the middle of the stalls was the king's tomb and altar of our Saviour; then followed the high altar, somewhere near where the tomb is now; and at the extreme east end in the bay window the tomb of Henry VI., which, from a drawing in the Cottonian Collection, Aug. 2, Vol. i., would appear to have consisted of the same arrangement as that of Henry V., viz., the tomb below and a chantry chapel above, supported on four pillars. We must remember that Henry VI. was never canonized, the scandal being that Henry VII. found it cost too much, and therefore the altar designated in the will as that of Henry VI. would refer to the chantry altar above his tomb. Another curious fact would go somewhat to prove the point, for the sill of the eastern bay window is so low that there would be no place for an attached altar and its dossel, that represented on Thorpe's plan looking very much like a make-shift. However this may be, we know that the body of Henry VI. still remains at Windsor, and that neither the canonization or removal ever took place.

The document above alluded to, viz. Thorpe's plan of the chapel, which is to be found among his other works preserved in the Soane Museum, is not only valuable as shewing us the position of the other

altars, but exhibits the arrangement of the stalls prior to their being altered in the reign of George I. It is generally asserted that a new bay of stalls was then added on either side; by a comparison, however, of Thorpe's plan with the actual building, we shall find that the number of the stalls remains the same, the only additions being two rows of canopies, which however were supplied by cutting off the hinder part of the original ones¹.



Plan of Henry VII's Chapel, from the Soane Museum.



Stalls, Henry VII's Chapel. 1. From Thorpe's Plan. 2. Present arrangement.

¹ I believe that most of the details of the plan will be found correct in the woodcut; unfortunately, by the will of Sir J. Soane the trustees were unable to grant the power of tracing it until their next meeting, and having been obliged to make a hasty sketch of it, it is just probable that there may be some slight inaccuracies. It is quite time that something should be done with this at present very useless institution. An Act of Parliament might surely be obtained for handing over the pictures to the National Gallery, the library and librarian (salary included) to the Institute of British Architects, the sarcophagus, manuscripts, and antique gems to the British Museum, while the rest of the collection is of very little value.

The next document given by Britton is entitled "An estimate of the charge for making of a tomb for King Henry VII., which plot was afterwards disliked by King Henry VIII. and altered as it now stands." From it we find that the pattern was made by Master Pageny, and that the king's three master masons were to work the black touchstone and white marble, the former to be used for the base and ledger and the latter for the sides and ends. Lawrence Imber, carver, was to make the patrones in timber of the various images, which were afterwards to be cast in copper by Nicholas Ewen, coppersmith and gilder. Lastly, a quantity of painting was to be done by four men's hands within a year. The whole number of figures is stated to be nineteen, of which (most probably, for the account is rather confused) Drawswerd Sherif of York was to execute two recumbent effigies and a kneeling one of the king. The kneeling figure was probably a substitution for the golden one directed in the will to be placed on the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor.

Now this tomb was probably only a slight modification of the one Henry VII. refers to in his will, and which was clearly a Gothic design.

There is no doubt, however, but that Torrigiano made the tomb as we now see it, for an indenture between him and Henry VIII. relative to the making of a tomb for the latter king is referred to in Neale's "Westminster Abbey." And in this we find casual mention of a tomb that Torrigiano had contracted to make in 1512, and which he had then finished.

The tomb of the Countess of Richmond (Henry VII.'s mother) is likewise by the same artist, but inasmuch as there are sundry Gothic details in it we may naturally suppose it to be a prior production.

Another document given by Britton proves that Torrigiano made the high altar. Sandford gives a print of this, p. 496, edition 1707. Here, however, as far as we can judge by the plate, we see a very different and coarser description of art; so much so, that it is difficult to conceive the altar and the two above-mentioned tombs to have been the work of the same man. Perhaps we may suppose Torrigiano to have changed his style after his visit to Italy in 1518, when he tried to induce Benvenuto Cellini to come over here and work with him. At all events, in the chapel of Henry VII. we trace the gradual departure from medieval art. Thus the chapel and the brass screen are purely medieval, and there are also traces of the same style in the Countess of Richmond's tomb; the king's monument is pure Italian renaissance, but still very delicate and beautiful, while in the high altar, which by the indenture was to be finished and erected by Nov. 1519,

the details and members are coarse and heavy. This latter was decorated with subjects relating to the life of our Lord, and consisted of four pillars supporting a square ceiling, at the four corners of which were angels of terra-cotta, so made as to look like marble, and supporting the instruments of the Passion. The altar proper was placed below this canopy, and presented a slab of touch-stone, supported by sundry bronze balusters; within was an image of the dead Christ, made of burnt clay and coloured. It will be remembered that a tomb and effigy of burnt clay made by Torrigiano are still to be found in the chapel of the Rolls in Chancery-lane.

Another curious fact in the history of this chapel is, that some years back, when the pockets of the aisle vaults were cleaned out, a crumpled and very dirty leaf of one of our earlier printers was discovered among the rubbish, which had never been disturbed since the building had been erected. This in itself is not very important, but it is curious in connection with the fact that Caxton is said to have set up his first printing-press in the vicinity of Westminster Abbey, and it has often struck me whether the very spacious triforium of the church could have been the scene of his labours. Might not a careful search in the floor of this triforium bring to light evidence of this, either in the shape of an old type, or some other relic of early printing? The triforium would be just the place for a workshop, and at the same time sufficiently inaccessible to prevent intrusion.

THE METAL-WORK*.

THERE are two common errors into which would-be church restorers are particularly liable to fall; these are to imagine, firstly, that churches and cathedrals are better for being isolated; and secondly, that tombs and works of art are improved by the removal of their railings. With regard to the former, a moment's reflection ought to teach them that the aim of the original architect, after making a convenient building with all its necessary appendages, such as cloisters, canons' houses, &c., was so to group these latter with the main edifice as to obtain a number of ever-varying and picturesque views. As to the tombs, the said architect well knew that man in every station and of every period is pre-eminently a destructive animal, he therefore took very good care to surround the tomb and its elaborate imagery with stout iron railings, so as to disappoint the fingers of the idle and maliciously disposed.

Very often these railings were simple affairs, such as that which protects the tomb of Archbishop Langham in St. Benedict's Chapel; but sometimes they were exceedingly elaborate works of art, and displayed wondrous workmanship, such as we still see at Westminster and at Windsor. Unfortunately, up to the present period it has been the fashion to get rid of the more simple of these railings, the result but too often being to the detriment of the monument: where, however, the richness of the workmanship has caused them to be preserved, the tombs as a general rule have suffered but very little. Witness that of Henry VII., which is nearly as perfect as on the day it was finished. Anciently the feeling for the preservation of the tomb was sometimes carried so far that the iron-work must nearly have hidden the work it was made to protect. Thus the tomb of the Duke of Berry, in the Sainte Chapelle at Bourges, was

* By W. Burges, Esq.

surrounded by an exceedingly plain and close grille of iron, which must have greatly hindered any very distinct view of the imagery within.

If we look over the plates in Ackerman's or Neale's History of the Abbey, we shall find that nearly every tomb was in some measure protected by a railing; and if we push our enquiries a little further, we shall discover that they were mostly removed in 1822, when the Dean and Chapter took the exhibition of the Abbey into their own hands. Of course they were actuated by the best of motives, and were guided by the opinion of the day; and indeed we are now only just beginning to suspect that they were in the wrong; but so strong then was the feeling on the point, that even the beautiful iron-work of Queen Eleanor's tomb, after having been spared in this first razzia, was removed under the inspiration of (I believe) no less a person than the late Sir Francis Chantrey; that sculptor doubtless thinking that it interfered with the beautiful profile of Torel's masterpiece, and forgetting that the iron-work was as much a portion of the general composition as the statue itself, and that they should never have been divided. Its subsequent restoration to its right place is, I believe, due to Mr. Scott.

At present, therefore, the iron-work of the Abbey may be divided into three classes. Of these one has been sold or lost, in fact, has disappeared; the second has been removed, and still remains in the Abbey, but not in its original place, being stowed away in the triforium, and in the slip commonly called the Chapel of St. Blaise; while the third division still remains in its place: luckily it happens to be by far more valuable and sumptuous than all the rest, and we may well console ourselves for the loss of the remainder by the thought that few churches in Europe can shew more beautiful and sumptuous works in iron and brass than those we are about to examine.

At present these examples are reduced to five only, but they all differ in construction and ornament, and moreover are most excellent examples of their several kinds. They are, 1. The grille at the top of the tomb of Queen Eleanor; 2. The railing round Archbishop Langham's effigy; 3. That at the west end of the chantry of Henry V.; 4. The brass or copper gates of

Henry the Seventh's Chapel; and 5. The beautiful brass grille round the tomb of the latter King.

The famous grille made by Master Thomas de Leghtone for the tomb of Queen Eleanor does not appear to have been designed so much for the protection of the tomb as to prevent ill-disposed persons from getting into the Confessor's Chapel by climbing over the effigy; in fact, it only commences at the top of the altar-tomb, and then, curving outwards, finishes at a comparatively small height above its springing.

It is easy to conceive why this arrangement obtained, for we must remember that the Confessor's Chapel contained not only the golden shrine of that saint, but in all probability an altar of reliques, which would be placed where Henry the Fifth's chantry now stands. The altar of reliques would of course contain many rich and costly reliquaries, and thus afford an additional reason for making the place secure. This object was doubtless effected in the first instance by high and close grilles, which went all round between the pillars of the chapel, and the whole effect most probably resembled the altar of reliques at Arras, as shewn in the sixth volume of Didron's *Annales Archéologiques*. Now when Henry III. and Queen Eleanor's tombs were erected^b, these high grilles were necessarily removed, and the tombs being very lofty, at least from the ambulatory side, the only precaution necessary was to devise some means of preventing the evilly disposed from climbing over. This was most effectually done by means of a curved grille, such as we see on Queen Eleanor's tomb (see p. 662). Whether that of her father-in-law had a similar one is a doubtful point; all we know is that there certainly was an account sent in for iron-work for it. Again, we are equally in the dark as to whether the fronts of the tombs themselves had a grille to protect them; it is very true that there are sundry holes in the basement, and in the pillars on either side of these tombs, but somehow or other they do not correspond, and it would be a most hazardous thing to build up any theory upon them. We only know that the tomb of Queen Philippa, which

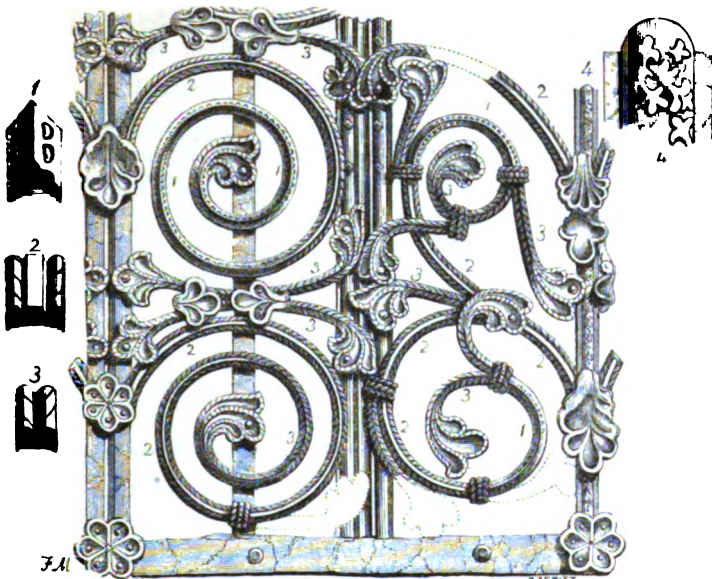
^b It is not very clear when Henry the Third's tomb was erected. What little evidence there is rather goes to prove that it was in hand between 1280 and 1290; the two effigies, however, were made at the same time.

was very rich, had such a protection; as also the tomb of Edward I., which was very plain^c, or at all events is at the present day, although in all probability it was covered with a richly embroidered pall (as tombs now are in Turkey), or by some painted decoration either on linen or on wood; for there is a certain mysterious account year after year for wax used "circum corpus" of Edward I., which some think may refer to the candles burnt round the tomb, and others to the wax cloths with which the body was enveloped, but which might possibly have been used in the shape of a varnish to certain painting either on cloth or on board^d.

But to return to the grille of Queen Eleanor, which affords an excellent illustration of how the most beautiful art may be united to the most commonplace purposes and materials. Its construction is as follows:—There are two horizontal bars, the lower one $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by 2 in. in section, and the upper one $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{1}{2}$ in. The former is made the stronger because it has to support most of the weight of the rest; while the latter (the $\frac{1}{2}$ in. being the top dimension) is situated higher up and considerably more forward. These two bars are connected together by perpendicular curved bars of various thicknesses, some much wider than the others: the wider ones, 2 in. broad by $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, form the principal divisions, which are again subdivided by other and thinner bars—all, however, following the same curve; and, lastly, the spaces thus obtained are filled with foliage of the most varied and beautiful description. This foliage is formed of iron bars, ornamented on their front surface with various mouldings, and bent into the required curves; and on to them are welded sundry leaves, stamped when hot by means of an iron mould. Now when a stalk springs from the main divisions, or whenever a leaf is welded on to a stalk, the

^c A view of Edward the First's tomb is given by Dart, in which the railing is distinctly shewn. It consisted of bars crossing each other at right angles, the upright bars at either end finished with a little bust, those between them with fleurs-de-lys.

^d Upon a careful inspection of the pillars on either side of the royal tombs in Edward the Confessor's Chapel, I am very much inclined to believe that overhanging grilles, somewhat similar to that on the tomb of Queen Eleanor, were attached to the tombs of Queen Philippa, Edward III., and Richard II.



Grille of the Tomb of Queen Eleanor, A.D. 1294.

point of junction is concealed by an ornament. In the former case it is a six-leaved rose, of which there are two varieties, one large and the other small. In the latter case, however, the expedients are more various: sometimes it is effected by means of another leaf, with a small stalk welded on to the point of junction, and then turned back so as effectually to hide the said welding point; sometimes several small leaves are thus employed, but not unfrequently an ornamental band goes three parts round the point of junction at right angles to the curve. As to the leaves themselves, I counted about six varieties, but looking at the work as a whole, nobody would suspect the designs to be so few, so well are they arranged. The curved bars connecting the top and bottom rails, and forming the divisions of the compartments, are likewise stamped on their faces with mouldings, of which there are about four varieties; and the same thing may be said of the stalks. I should mention that a very curious ornament occurs in the larger curved bars, viz., sundry little studs or nails inserted at regular intervals and riveted on the back. The same thing occurs in some of the

roses, but in this case it was formed by drilling a hole in the iron stamp.

From the accounts of the executors of Queen Eleanor, published by the Roxburghe Club, we find that Thomas de Leghton was paid 12*l.* for making this grille, besides 20*s.* extra for the carriage of the work and for his own and assistants' expenses in London during the fixing. Mr. Digby Wyatt, in his "*Metal-work*," has conjectured that by Leghton is meant Leighton-Buzzard, in Bedfordshire; and he supports his theory by the publication of part of the iron-work on the door of the church at that place, which certainly looks like the work of the same hand. Another door, with furniture of a similar kind, occurs at Eaton Bray, also in Bedfordshire^e.

The railing which separates Archbishop Langham's tomb from the ambulatory may simply be described as a top and bottom rail, with connecting upright bars, 1 in. by 1 in., which end in spikes. The top rail is 2½ in. by 1½ in., and to it is attached a moulded cornice, 3 in. deep, by means of iron straps which go round it at intervals. The angle uprights, however, are much stouter than the others, being 2 in. by 2 in.; they also rise higher, and end in a moulded and embattled top, which doubtless supported some figure or badge. Again, the angle-pieces do not go through the top rail, which is widened at these points; and notches being made in it, the angle-uprights are fixed in the notches, and further secured by tenons and pins.

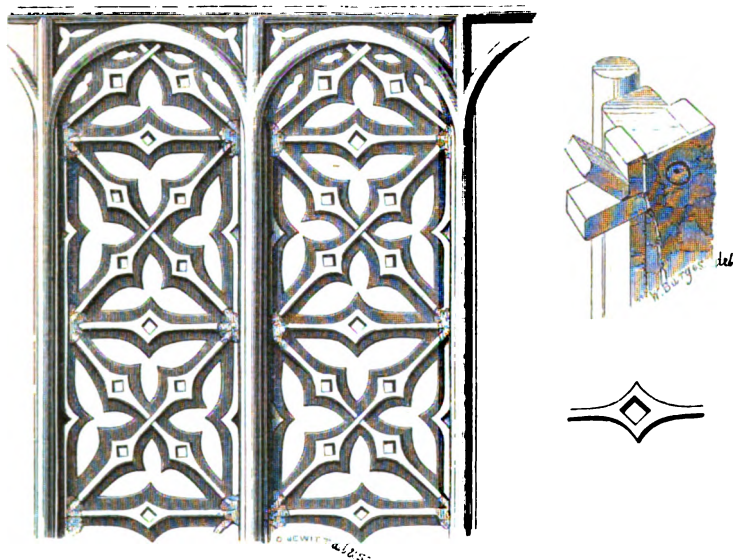
The iron railings round the tombs of Edward the Black Prince and Henry IV., at Canterbury, are constructed in this manner.

The next grille in order of time is that which forms the entrance to the under part of the chantry of Henry V. As a composition it looks exceedingly elaborate, but when carefully examined it almost resolves itself into the repetition of a single pattern. In fact, if we compare it with the grille of Queen Eleanor's tomb, we find that we have left art and arrived at mere architecture.

The railings which defended the other three sides abutting on to the ambulatory were very plain and solid, and little more

^e See Brandon's Analysis.

than the usual upright and horizontal bars. It will be observed that the other tombs were not defended on the inside, (i. e. the



Part of the Screen of the Chantry of Henry the Fifth.

chapel side,) but an exception was made in the present instance, inasmuch as parts (tradition rather varies as to which) of the effigy of Henry V. were covered with plates of silver, and the grille was therefore made very strong and very close. The construction resolves itself into a series of upright and horizontal bars halved into one another and riveted together, the main bars, as usual, being much larger and wider than the rest. In front of the smaller ones is riveted a small circular bowtell, which with the bars themselves is bent at the heads of the compartments into semicircular arches. On the sides of all the bars, both large and small, is a wide and very shallow groove, which serves as a rebate for a series of very small bars, each cusped in the middle, thus forming a sort of tracery resembling a series of squares set one upon another, but with a line drawn from each angle. Behind these, again, we find thin sheet iron pierced with pointed trefoils following the lines of the tracery before

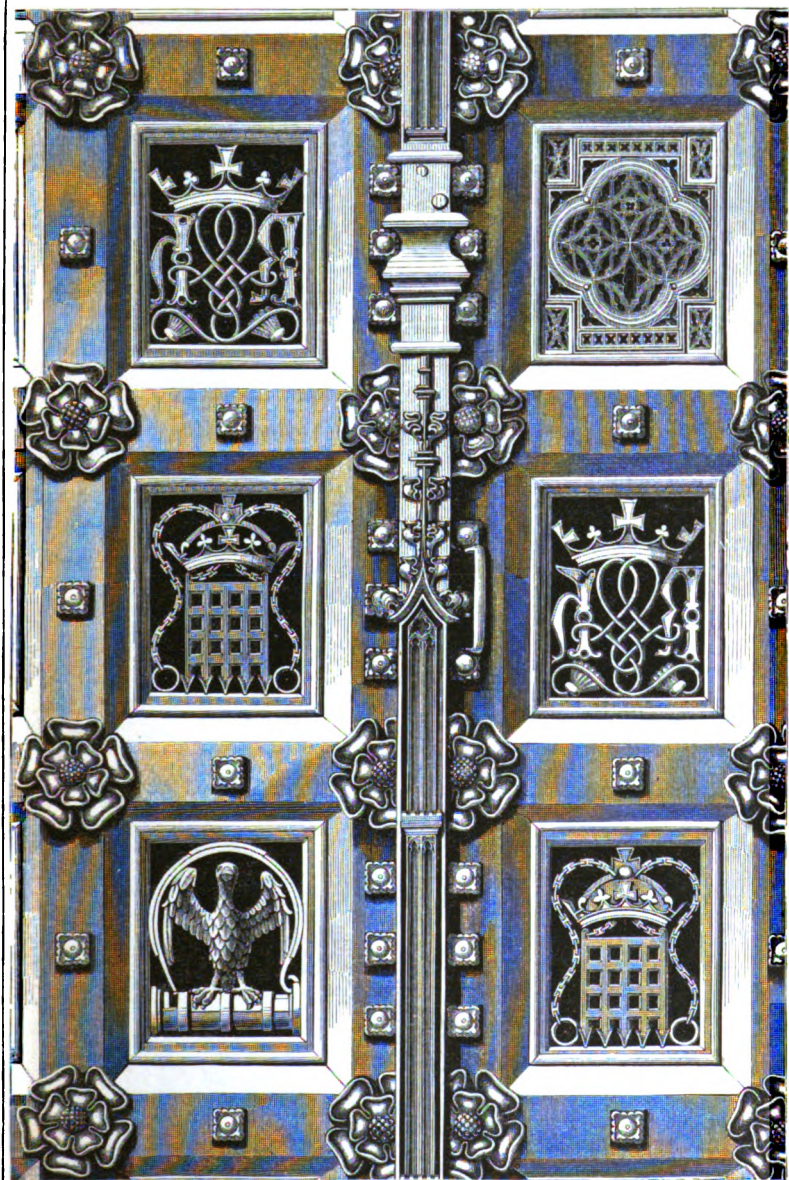
mentioned. We learn from Neale, that in his time some of the principal bars were decorated with three gilded fleurs-de-lys on a blue ground and three gilded lions on a red ground, alternating with each other, and the rest had swans and antelopes¹.

Before leaving the Confessor's Chapel, it may be observed that we have lost the railing of Edward the First's tomb, the angle irons of which were finished by heads; and also that which protected the beautiful work of Queen Philippa's tomb: its history was very curious, it having been bought by her executors and set up here after doing duty round the tomb of a bishop in St. Paul's Cathedral.

We must now proceed to the gates of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, (see Plate XV.) These are in brass, that king having evidently thought iron too mean a material for his sumptuous building. Their construction is of the simplest, being merely skeleton-framed wooden doors covered with cast-brass plates, which, like nearly all the bronzes of the Middle Ages, have been richly gilt. Indeed, the artists of those times appear to have had but little admiration for metal in its oxidised state; and I am by no means certain whether sundry passages in Pliny do not give us very good grounds for supposing that their taste in this matter was shared by the ancient Greeks, who would appear to have possessed the secret of some varnish which preserved the metal from the effects of the weather.

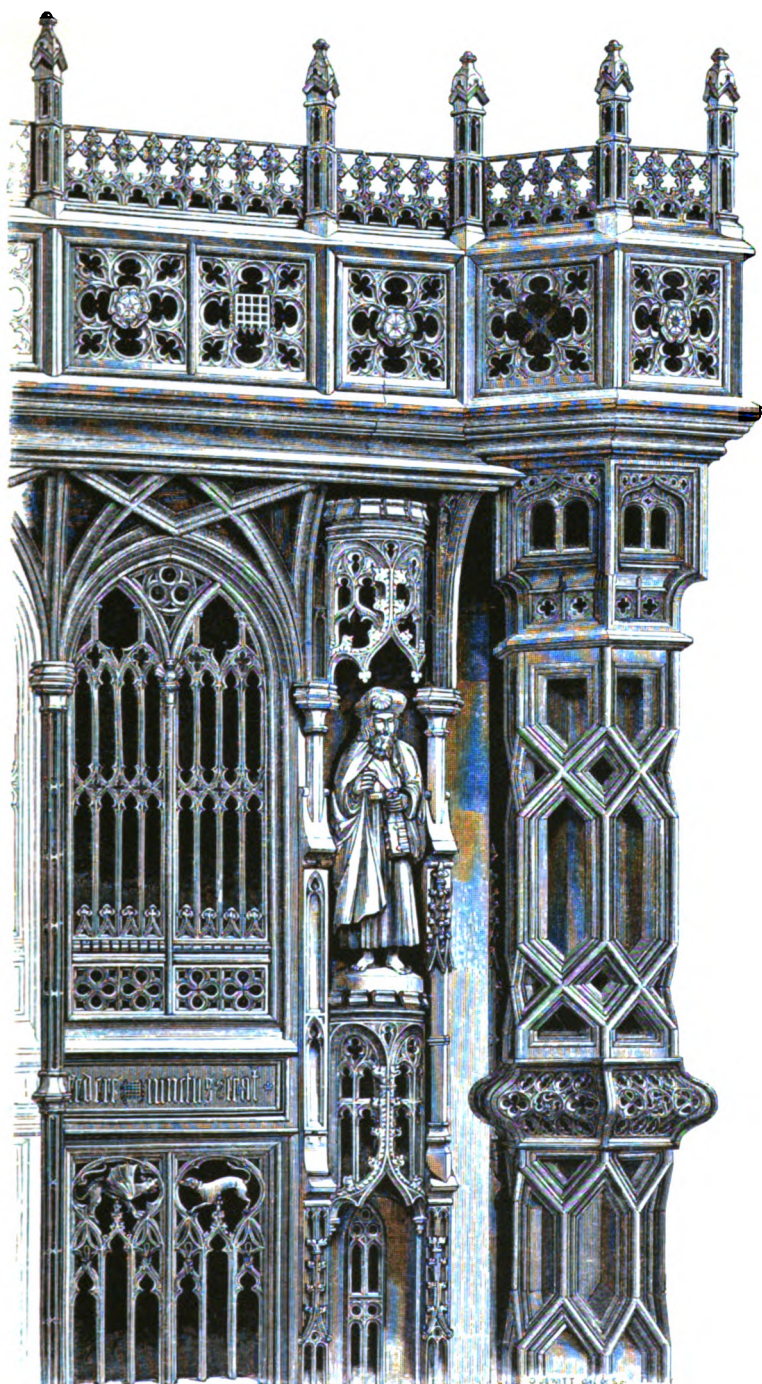
The brass castings covering the wood-work of the gates at present under consideration are seldom in greater lengths than 2 feet 6 inches; and as they are applied in halves at either side of the wood, they are secured to the wood and to each other by means of iron rivets, which pass through sundry small roses occurring at certain intervals on either side. The junctions where the rails and stiles meet, and where consequently the metal is mitred, are covered by large flat roses; but how they are secured from falling out is more than I could discover, although I had the advantage of the experience of my friend Mr. Skidmore, who together with two of his workmen was kind enough to devote some considerable time to the question. Further ornament was obtained by inserting thin bronze castings

¹ The smith was Roger Johnson of London.



G. J. WITT. DEL.

Part of one of the Gates of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.



Part of the Grille of Henry the Seventh's Tomb.

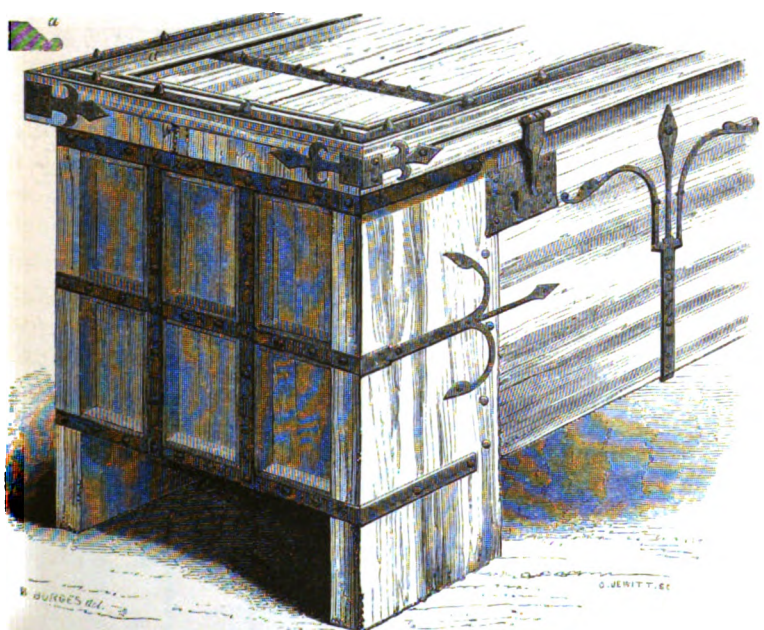
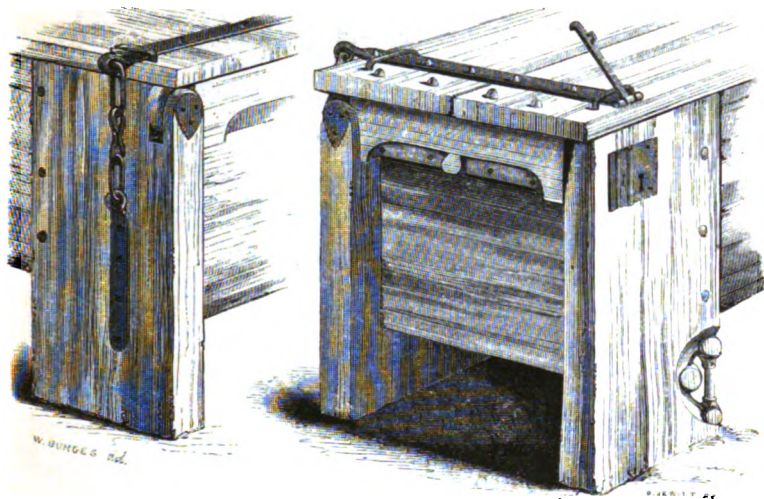
between the edge-moulds of the back and front pieces, thus filling the panels with pierced ornament from one-eighth to three-sixteenths of an inch thick; and as the bronze covering of the rails and stiles finishes with a head, the junction of all the pieces is so well managed that it is difficult at first sight not to believe that the whole was cast in one piece. The buttresses at the edges of the folding doors are also most beautifully worked, and the same may also be said of the single lock-plate, which has escaped the cupidity of those people whom Stowe calls "lewd fellows," one of whom, he tells us, stole away in the year 1569 divers parcels of brass and copper that adorned the tomb, but was afterwards punished. This lock-plate has been published in Wyatt's "*Metal-work*," but unfortunately, by some mistake, has been coloured to represent iron instead of bronze. Although at first it looks as if made of several plates superposed, as in iron-work, yet it will be found that the artist very properly took advantage of the fusible character of the material he had to work on, and confined himself to two thicknesses only, the various projecting planes being cast in one piece and then worked up with the burin.

The badges in the perforated panels are,—1, crown and portcullis; 2, falcon and fetterlock; 3, R. H. bound together with a chain, and a crown above; 4, a crown in a rose-bush; 5, ditto in a thistle; 6, three fleurs-de-lys; and 7, three lions.

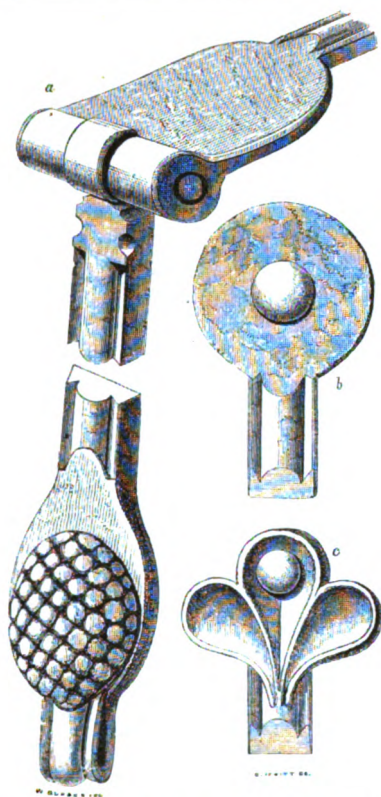
There can be but very little doubt concerning the date of the fourth object of our enquiry, viz. the splendid gilt-brass grille which surrounds the tomb of Henry VII. (see Plate XVI.), for that king in his will distinctly refers to it as a "grate in manner of a closure of coper and gilt after the faction that we have begonne." In all probability the artists were Englishmen, for there is a marked difference between the details of the closure and the details of the tomb: thus those of the former are mediæval, and, curiously enough, there is very little of the stiff Perpendicular style to be found in the tracery. Yet it is by far more English than the grille of Edward the Fourth's tomb at Windsor. It is also a more harmonious composition than the latter, for in the present case the little pillars support groining which takes the cornice and a heavy parapet, whereas at Windsor

there is a row of very large and unmeaning canopies, which cover nothing whatever, unless we imagine the whole to have been raised on a high stone or marble plinth, which might possibly have afforded space to put statues upon.

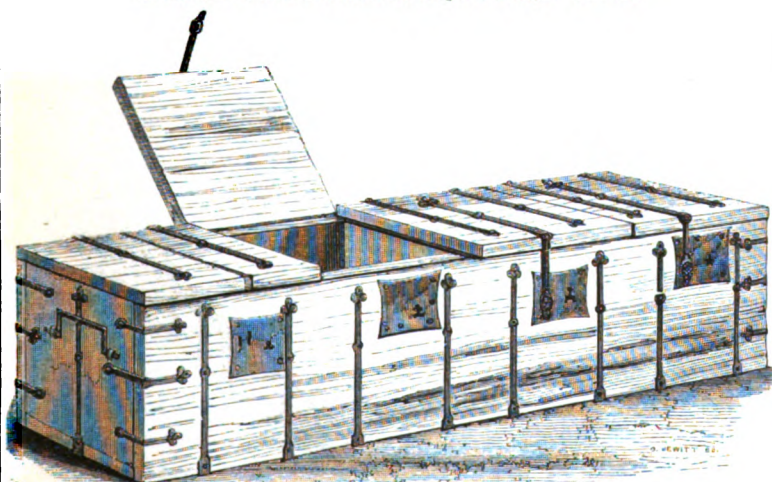
The grille of Henry the Seventh's tomb may best be described as a parallelogram in plan, the principal projections being a large pillar at each angle and two shallow projecting porches on the north and south sides. Its construction is in principle the same as the doors, only far more elaborate, and with the great difference that the interior supports are of iron and not of wood; the junctions are also, if anything, better and more neatly made. At each angle of the parallelogram, and at either jamb of the doorways, is a very strong iron rod. These eight rods support a very strong square bronze casting, very like a miniature tubular girder, the lengths of which, dovetailed together, run all round. The dimensions of this girder are about 9 inches deep and 4 inches wide, the sides being about three-quarters of an inch thick, and through it run cross-pieces of iron at every bay, taking the cornice and parapet; the other parts, such as the little columns, tracery, &c., are all put together most carefully with keys and lockets, and to a certain degree support themselves: great strength, however, is got in the middle rails, which go continuously from one point of support to the other, all the upright lines of the tracery butting on to them. At the angles of the porch, and at each corner of the grille near the large columns, are two rows of niches, once containing figures, of which unfortunately only six are left out of thirty-two. Thus on the easternmost side we have none, on the south St. Edward, St. Bartholomew (holding his skin), and St. John; on the west St. George, and on the north a figure Neale calls St. Basil. These figures, although they possess a certain energy of expression, are by no means to be compared with the little figures of Torrigiano's that we see on the side of the tomb; on the contrary, there are several signs of inferior artistic knowledge to be detected, (for example, the drawing of the eyes of St. Bartholomew); and the draperies are moreover arranged in such a manner as to make it evident that they had been cast from wooden models: but beyond this there is really not a fault



Early English Chests in the Triforium.



Details of Iron-work on Chest in the Chapel of the Pyx. Full size.



Early English Chest in the Chapel of the Pyx.

to find in the workmanship, or indeed in the design, if we consider the age in which it was done; while the inscription running outside and inside the horizontal rails is quite a model in its way for ribbon black-letter.

There are still certain peculiarities about this grille which the antiquary would gladly have cleared up if possible, and which will probably only be explained by documentary evidence. For instance, did the great angle columns ever support anything—say statues or beasts? Also, plates of bronze are placed on the top of the bronze girder and its transverse pieces, so as to form a sort of gallery all round the top—was anything (reliques for instance) placed on it? And again, what was the filling-in of the bronze bars which once formed a flat canopy over the altar? It is to be hoped that some of these queries may hereafter be answered, and indeed so much has lately been found out concerning the Abbey that in future we need scarcely despair of anything.

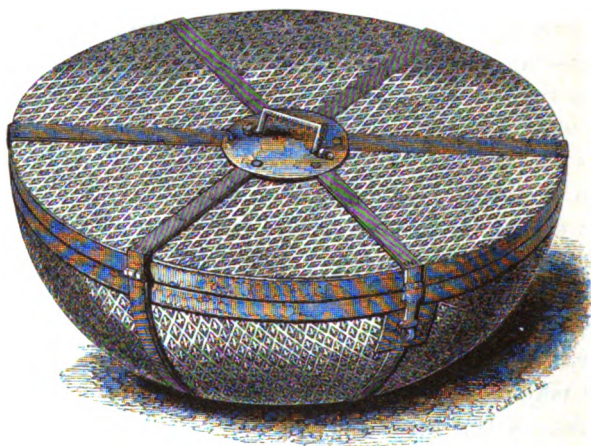
To give an idea of the amount of spoliation that has taken place, it may be remarked that not one of the four great angle-pillars retains the least trace of the filling-in of any of the various hexagonal and other patterns of which they are composed; and it is only from Dart's plates that we find these fillings-in consisted of crowned roses, portcullises, and tracery.

The rest of the iron-work of the Abbey may be disposed of in a very few words. In Henry the Seventh's Chapel are one or two good door-handles; and in the space over the eastern walk of the cloister there are one or two chests, of which an idea may be formed from the accompanying woodcuts, (see Plate XVII.) In all probability they are of about the same date as the earlier parts of the church—a supposition which is supported by the resemblance between the lesser one and another very like it in the sacristy of Salisbury Cathedral, which presents a nearly similar arrangement in the carving of the feet.

A long chest divided into four compartments was preserved in the chamber of the Pyx: its iron-work, although simple, is exceedingly good, and much resembles that on Queen Eleanor's tomb. (See Plate XVIII.) It is now in the Record Office.

One or two specimens of cuir bouilli used to be kept in the

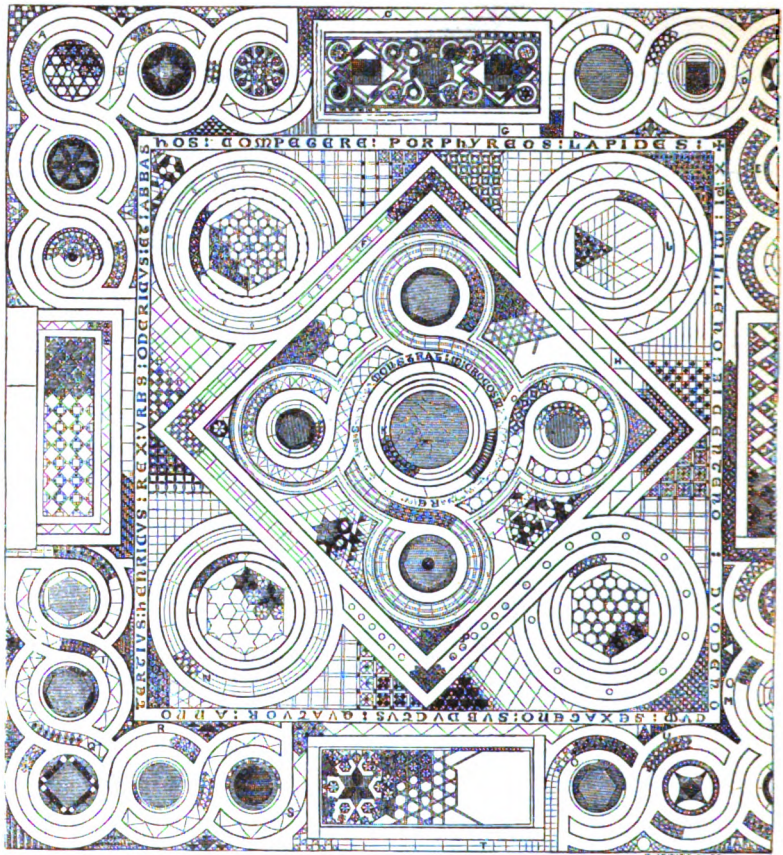
Pyx Office. Luckily they have followed the fortunes of the chest, and are now under the care of Mr. Burt in the Record Office. One of these is a forcer, a receptacle for documents, not unlike a kettledrum in shape; it is bound with thin strips of iron, and has one lock, and provision for four padlocks. The other specimen is part of a case for a silver ewer.



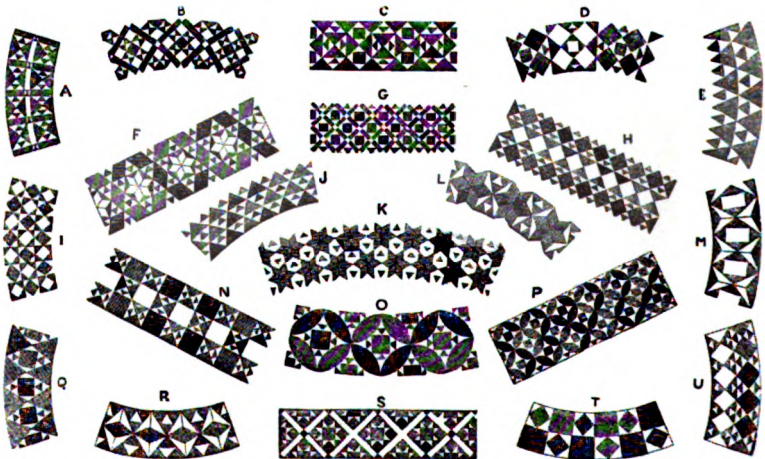
Forcer from the Pyx Chamber.



Pattern on the Forcer.



Mosaic Pavement on the Altar Platform.



Patterns of the Mosaic Pavement.

THE MOSAIC PAVEMENTS^a.

Most travellers who have visited Rome and the southern parts of Italy cannot fail to have been struck with the very beautiful pavements adorning those churches which were either built or repaired during the Middle Ages. Sometimes, indeed, the pavement is the only ancient portion remaining, the rest of the edifice being but too frequently altered to suit the corrupt taste of the last three centuries.

These pavements belong to the class of mosaic called *Opus Alexandrinum*, and are composed of small pieces of porphyry, serpentine and palombino, arranged geometrically in a ground of cippolino or other white marble. These materials, for the most part, were derived from the spoils of ancient buildings, and many must have been the column that was sawn into slices by the mosaicist: a proof of this is to be found in the gallery outside the *Capella Reale* at Palermo, where part of a column is still to be seen with a slice half cut off.

The ancients got their porphyry from Egypt; and as it was to be obtained in large masses, we find it far more plentifully used than the serpentine^b, which is found in the shape of nodules in the mountains of Laconia. It is for this reason that the large circles in the mosaic pavements are generally formed of porphyry, and not of serpentine, for there were large columns of the former, whereas the largest known piece of the latter (in *St. Lorenzo* at Rome, I believe,) is only a thin oval of about 4 ft. in its longest diameter. The palombino is a white stone, not unlike clunch, only much harder^c. Palombino is the Roman

^a By W. Burges, Esq.

^b This is, of course, a different stone from the modern serpentine. Mr. C. H. Smith informs me that it belongs to the same geological formation as the porphyry; the ancient name was *Lapis Lacedemonius*.

^c Mr. C. H. Smith says that it is a true marble; it is supposed to be identical with the corallitic stone of Pliny. It is now found near Assisi and in Sicily.

name for it: in Sicily it is called *lactemusa*. The Romans are even said to have imported it into this country for their pavements. As to the *cippolino*, it is a white marble with green streaks, and derives its name from its resemblance to the colouring of an onion. The pavements of *Opus Alexandrinum* look very much better when *cippolino* was used as the material to enclose the *tesseræ*; but in the Middle Ages the artists were not very particular, and we frequently meet with other sorts of white marble doing duty instead. A similar latitude was also observed with regard to the eyes of the circles, which occasionally present us with many varieties of precious marbles. The great desideratum, however, was that they should be hard, for no stones possess this quality in so great a degree as the serpentine and porphyry; which may often be found perfectly intact when the *cippolino* has been worn into holes. Again, no marbles are so intense in colour as these are, and accordingly we find them almost exclusively used in conjunction with the *palombino* for the *tesseræ*. The latter stone also appears to have the property of throwing up and enhancing the colours of the two former; and where attempts have been made to substitute white marble for it, as in the late repairs of the Canterbury pavement, the result has been exceedingly unsatisfactory.

The general arrangement of an Italian pavement will be better understood by a study of the Westminster example, (Plate XIX.) which is an exceedingly fine specimen, than by any detailed description; the only difference being that Odericus the artist was obliged to use Purbeck instead of *cippolino*, and to put more mosaic in the eyes of his circles than he would have done in his own country, where porphyry, serpentine, and other hard marbles were at hand in pieces of considerable size. In the thirteenth century it was part of the duty of every abbot, when promoted to the office, to go to Rome to get his election confirmed. This no doubt was a very vexatious obligation, and often led the new dignitary and his abbey into considerable expense, and even debt; but at the same time it had this good effect, that it brought Churchmen of all nations together, and no doubt rubbed off

many angles and softened many prejudices. Abbot Ware, who was elected in 1258, shortly afterwards went to Rome, where he stayed two years; on account, as we are told, of his having to borrow a thousand marcs for his expenses. However this may be, he employed his time well, for to him we may fairly consider ourselves indebted for the glass mosaic on St. Edward's shrine, and the stone mosaic in front of the high altar, at Westminster; the date of the completion of the former being 1269, and of the latter 1268. In the one case *Petrus civis Romanus* was the artist, and in the other a certain *Odericus*. As there is no mention of the abbot on the shrine, we may conclude, that the king was at the total expense of the work; but on the pavement we are, or rather were, told (for the inscription is all but obliterated) that "*Odericus et Abbas hos compegere porphyreos lapides:*" and again, the inscription on his tomb, which evidently formed part of the pavement, testified that

*"Abbas Ricardus de Wara qui requiescit
Hic portat lapides quos huc portavit ab Urbe."*

From all this we may fairly presume that Abbot Ware, at his return from his long stay in Rome, or at some subsequent voyage^d, for he was almost always travelling, brought over from Rome two artists; viz. *Odericus*, to do the stone pavement, which he intended to present to his abbey church; and *Petrus*, who was skilled in glass mosaic, which would of course require a different manipulation to the stone, the glass having to be broken by means of two hammers, and afterwards ground down; while the porphyry and serpentine, from their extreme hardness, would require considerable experience of another kind to cut them properly. We must do *Odericus* the justice to say that he performed his task in a good and workmanlike manner, and were it not for three peculiarities we might easily believe that the whole had been put together in Italy instead of in England.

^d Widmore, in his *History of Westminster Abbey*, says Ware was at Rome in 1267, but does not give his authority. Widmore, however, is a careful writer, and would not have made the assertion without something to found it on, more especially as he thinks that it was in that year that Ware brought over the materials and workmen.

The first of these peculiarities, viz. the substitution of Purbeck for cippolino, was forced upon him by our country, which does not produce white marble. The second is the insertion of three inscriptions by means of brass letters let into sundry of the Purbeck borders. Unfortunately, Purbeck marble is not a very enduring material in a damp situation, and the consequence is that so much of it has been replaced, and so much destroyed, that it is very difficult to make out the exact position of many of the letters. The inscription as preserved by Camden runs as follows :—

“ Si lector posita prudenter cuncta revolvat
 Hic finem primi mobilis inveniet.
 Sepes trina, canes et equos, homines, super addis
 Cervos et corvos, aquilas, immania cæte
 Mundi quodque sequens pereuntis triplicat annos,
 Sphæricus Archetypum globus hic monstrat microcosmum,
 Christi milleno bis centeno duodeno
 Cum sexageno subductis quatuor Anno
 Tertius Henricus Rex, Urbs, Odericus, et Abbas,
 Hos compegere Porphyreos Lapides.”

Mr. Jewitt in his admirable woodcut has indicated the brass letters actually remaining by making them black. Of the others, which are more lightly shaded, many of the casements remain, but the majority have left no traces whatever. The last four lines of the inscription, which contain the date, clearly went round the square which contains the great lozenge and its circles ; the fifth and sixth lines ran round the centre circle and its surrounding satellites^e ; while the place of the first four lines is exceedingly doubtful : they might have gone round the outside of the great lozenge and its circles ; or they might have occupied an outer border enclosing the whole composition, but which was probably utterly destroyed when the altar-piece was put up in the time of Queen Anne^f. The third deviation from

^e There is a casement of a continuous strip of brass round here, which is probably a medieval restoration of part of the original inscription. In the thirteenth century the artists preferred to insert the letters separately into the stone.

^f On the ledge of the basement of Edward the First's tomb is a piece of Purbeck, the edge of which has been worked into the moulding. On the top of it, however, are the casements of some Lombardic brass letters forming KETINI, perhaps a contraction for Katherini. They have been sometimes supposed to have formed

Italian practices is the introduction of glass mosaic round the great centre circle, and in the two oblong panels on the north and south sides^c. Now we know that Abbot Ware was buried on the north side of the choir, and beneath his own pavement; it is therefore by no means improbable that the difference of material in these two spaces may indicate the sites of tombs, more especially as we see the casement of a continuous strip of brass in the west and south sides of the northern panel, which we might perhaps venture to appropriate to Ware^d. The southern panel may mark the place of interment of his successor, Abbot Wenlock, who had an epitaph of exactly the same length: it ran thus:—

“Abbas Walterus jacet hic sub marmore tectus
Non fuit austerus sed mitis fame rectus.”

The pavement, more particularly in those parts towards the east end, exhibits numerous traces of repairs in modern marbles, which are most likely traceable to Queen Anne's time, when Dart tells us that the workmen who were putting up the pagan altar-piece were with difficulty prevented by the exertions of Lord Oxford and the Bishop of Rochester from destroying the whole. As it is, we have lost one-half of the eastern border. The eye of the great centre circle has also a very modern look, and was most probably originally occupied with an engraved

part of the pavement of the great altar, but as no such word or part of a word occurs, the theory will not hold. The letters, however, are clearly of the same date, and in all probability formed part of a tomb.

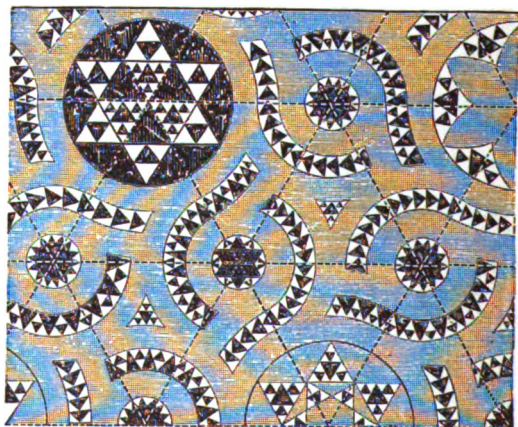
^c The only Italian pavement I know exhibiting glass mosaic, is that in the hall of the Ziza, Palermo: but the Ziza was a Moorish palace, and the mosaic in question might have been executed by Moorish workmen. However that may be, it is only suited for pavements in hot countries, where Oriental custom demands that the shoes be taken off before entering the apartment. The glass mosaic at the Ziza is in a very good state of preservation, but at Westminster it is worn down and much broken.

^d The exact position of Ware's tomb appears to be rather doubtful. Camden says that he was buried “sub opere tessellato.” Weever, “Here lieth before the communion table the body of Richard de Ware, . . . upon whose gravestone this brass epitaph is engraven.” In Kemp's time the brass was gone from the slab; and Dart assures us that during the alterations the stone was removed. It is just possible that Kemp might have mistaken the tomb of some other ecclesiastic, despoiled of its brass, for that of Ware, and that Dart might have followed the tradition, for we know that several other interments took place on the north side of the pavement.

plate of brass. The eyes of the four small surrounding circles are also not entirely satisfactory to the antiquary.

In Edward the First's time there would appear to have been another importation of glass and marble tesserae,—the former for the adornment of his father's tomb, and the latter for the pavement of the Confessor's shrine¹; as we find in the payments by Queen Eleanor's executors (among whom was the King himself) the sum of sixty shillings to William le Pavour, "pro pavimento faciundo in Ecclesia West." Now this amount, which represents some £45 or £50 of our money, is far more than would be required for making good those portions of the pavement on either side of the tomb which might have been disturbed by the scaffolding and hoarding required for the work in hand; and the question naturally suggests itself, whether it might not refer to the supplying the Purbeck marble for the present pavement in St. Edward's chapel, cutting the casements for the mosaics, and laying it down afterwards. This is the more probable when we look at its construction, so different to that in the choir, which is regular *Opus Alexandrinum*, and where the Purbeck marble is jointed to the centres of the circles it encloses.

In the present instance, however, a small pattern is cut



Mosaic Pavement in the Chapel of Edward the Confessor².

¹ Leland, in his *Collectanea*, tells us that this pavement was made from the remains of the marbles used in the tomb of Henry III. This is improbable, as only a few large pieces of serpentine and porphyry were required in the tomb; but, at all events, it shews the tradition respecting the date of the pavement.

² From Brandon's Analysis.

in square slabs of Purbeck, and could easily be prepared in advance, and would require little skill to lay down. The disposition of the circles partakes more of a diaper than any Italian example, and in all probability must be referred to a Northern workman endeavouring to do something like Abbot Ware's pavement, only in his own way. In the usual accounts of the Abbey, both pavements are said to contain porphyry, lapis-lazuli, jasper, Lydian, and serpentine marbles. Of course there is no doubt about the serpentine and the porphyry, but the lapis-lazuli is a pure myth, the writers having mistaken the blue glass mosaic for that material. As to the other marbles, a very interesting account might be formed of those to be found in the eyes of the various squares and circles: for instance, in the presumed memorial to Abbot Ware there are to be found pieces of Rosso Antico and Bianco Nero, both very rare marbles; but these were confined to the centres; the diapers and convolutions being invariably made of porphyry, serpentine, and palombino. When, therefore, we find other marbles introduced in these situations, we may be almost sure that they are restorations.

Both pavements are in bad condition, owing to the decay of the Purbeck. This is more especially the case with that in St. Edward's Chapel, and the Dean and Chapter have very properly caused it to be covered with boards, leaving, however, a small portion, which is nearly perfect, uncovered.

There is a third pavement of *Opus Alexandrinum*, at Canterbury, occupying the space immediately westward of the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket. Here also the materials have evidently been brought from abroad, but have been put together by an English workman, for we find forms such as are seldom or never found in Italy, and thin lines of brass around them: black marble is also sunk to receive other forms, and the diapers have a very Northern appearance.



View shewing the upper part of Altar-screen, part of one of the drawings of Abbot Islip's Funeral, from a MS. in the Heralds' College.

THE RETABULUM^a.

SOME twenty years ago Mr. Blore, who was then architect of the Abbey, had the good fortune to discover, on the top of the waxwork cases in the upper chapel of Abbot Islip, the very beautiful specimen of thirteenth-century decoration which is now placed at the back of the sedilia over King Sebert's tomb. It is almost impossible to say distinctly for what purpose it was originally intended, but the supposition that it was the retabulum placed at the back of the high altar has perhaps the highest claims to our attention. On the other hand, it might have been a frontal, or even one of the sides of the cooperulum, or covering of St. Edward's shrine. Its dimensions, 10 ft. 11 in. by 3 ft. 1 in., would serve for any of these purposes, although perhaps a little too long for a frontal^b. It is also a curious fact that the plain space at the back of the present altar corresponds with this 10 ft. 11 in. dimension, although very much stress can hardly be laid upon this, inasmuch as the side of the present altar-screen towards the choir is a plaster restoration of a fifteenth-century work. The view shewing the choir, in the MS. of Abbot Islip's funeral, now in the Heralds' College,

^a By W. Burges, Esq.

^b At the end of this chapter is added a transcript of part of the Chancellor's Roll of the 56th Henry III.; in it we find an account of—1. Two pictures "decently painted," and placed before the altar of the Blessed Virgin; 2. The painted tabernacle around the bed of the king; 3. The wooden statue, plated with silver and ornamented with gems, for the tomb of the Princess Katherine; 4. A frontal for the great altar, which took the labour of three women for three years and three quarters; it was enriched with jewels and enamels, and must have cost upwards of £4,000 of our money; 5. The trifura (?) of the bases and columnus around the shrine of St. Edward; 6. A chest wherein to deposit the said ornaments. The total amount of this little bill would be about £6,000 of our money.

Our retabulum, with its false jewels, would hardly have been worthy to have been used in conjunction with so precious a frontal; the latter, however, was probably displayed on grand occasions only.

(published in the *Vetusta Monumenta*,) which might have resolved our doubts in this respect, affords us no information, inasmuch as the whole of the middle of the altar-screen is represented as hung with black^c.

Whatever might have been its destination, it is a most valuable specimen of the art of the latter end of the reign of Henry the Third, or of the beginning of his successor, for to this period several circumstances would lead us to refer it: for instance, the mixture of the conventional crockets and the naturalistic finials, besides the occurrence of the castle of Castile and the eagle of Germany among the ornaments. M. Viollet-le-Duc, in his account of it in his *Dictionnaire Raisoné du Mobilier Français*, claims it as being of French manufacture, without giving any reason for his assertion. It is very true that among the ornaments there are the fleur-de-lis and the castle, but at the end of Henry the Third's reign England was equally connected with Castile, by the marriage of Edward to Eleanor, sister of Alphonso. We also meet the lion of England repeated in several situations, to say nothing of the eagle belonging to Richard, the king's brother. We likewise know that Henry was in the habit of buying expensive altar-pieces, for among other accounts there is one in 1272 in which Master Peter de Ispannia is paid 80*l.* for two pictures (*tabulis*), decently painted, and deposited before the altar of the Virgin at Westminster^d: and we also learn that

^c This view is one of the most valuable documents we have for giving us information respecting the ancient state of the abbey. It shews us the angels on the pediments of the De Valence and Crouchback tombs, as well as the coopertoria above them. We also see that at a short distance above the altar-screen there is a sort of flat ciel or canopy, above which are a crucifix, the Mary and John, and two cherubim, probably the same that Edward of Westminster was commanded in 1251 to buy for the nave of Westminster Abbey, (see Close Rolls quoted by Sir C. Eastlake in his "Materials for the History of Oil Painting,") and which were most likely afterwards removed from the roodscreen to the screen of St. Edward's Chapel. Between the ciel and the screen, and resting upon the top of the latter, are figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, besides something in the middle which looks like a ciborium. Beyond this, again, is an oblong picture in compartments, and which may possibly be the old retabulum, disused when the new screen was erected in Henry the Sixth's time, and put up here to preserve it. The original screen was probably only an iron grille.

^d Rot. Canc. 56 Hen. III., compot. William de Glouc., at the end of this chapter.

his wages were sixpence per day in 1257, so that he was a real painter and not a mere picture-dealer*. Under these circumstances, therefore, more especially when we consider the very excellent art displayed in the painted chamber, M. Viollet-le-Duc must not be surprised if, as Englishmen, we demur to his assertion, which by the way he supports by no manner of proof.

The construction of the retabulum is as follows:—A wooden panelled tablet is made, upon which the projecting portions of the framework and architecture are affixed by pins and glue: of course it would have been easy to have made many of these out of the solid, in the same manner that ordinary stall-work is executed, but then there was the chance of solid wood splitting, an occurrence which would have been exceedingly disastrous to the painting and gilding; so the modern upholsterer's plan was adopted, of using many pieces, gluing them up separately, and reversing the grain of the wood†. The framework divides the whole composition into five compartments; of these the centre and end ones are filled by architectural compositions containing painted figures, while the other two are subdivided into a sort of diaper composed of the junctions of four compound squares. The interiors of these latter have painted figure-subjects, but the interstices are reserved for plates of glass enriched with gilding.

The framework being finished, the first care of the decorator was to glue pieces of vellum over all the joints‡. This precaution secured them from opening at the time, but, unfortunately, when the retabulum became dilapidated and the vellum became partially exposed, the variations of the atmosphere began to act; and it curled, and thus brought off the gesso in many places. The next thing the decorator did was to cover the whole surface with a coating of whitening and size, forming the gesso to receive the painting and gilding. Of the former it may be remarked that it was executed in distemper, and then

* Rot. lib. 41 Hen. III., m. 3.

† The retabulum being kept in a case it is difficult to ascertain the exact construction, owing to the impossibility of seeing the back.

‡ M. Viollet-le-Duc says that vellum was glued over the whole surface; this is clearly a mistake.

covered with a coating of oleaginous varnish, thus rendering the whole effect very like that of an oil painting, but without the tendency to sink in which occurs so often in the usual oil process unless it be painted exceedingly thickly and solidly.

In the gilding, however, many processes were employed, such as the following^h :—

1. Where the gilding was to be left plain the gold leaf (which, by the way, was rather thicker than what we use) was laid on the gesso ground by means of white of egg, and then burnished.

2. The gilding forming the grounds of the pictures has a reticulated pattern. This was effected by scratching the gesso ground before the application of the gold. The little ornaments which occur within each reticulation were stamped with a punch before the ground had got too dry. The Roman picture-frame makers are very expert at this sort of work at the present day.

3. This sort of work also occurs in the framework, occupying the spaces between the imitation enamels, (of which more hereafter,) but it is further enriched by the application of glass imitations of precious stones. The bed of the stone was hollowed in the gesso, and after all the rest had been gilt and burnished, the stone was put in its bed and secured by a chaton of some hard cement resembling our putty; this also was afterwards gilt. The bed was occasionally left gilded, or else coloured so as to shew up the stone; in two instances it has been coloured red, and in another there are traces of silver leaf.

4. In the columns of the architecture we find another process. They were gilt and burnished, and a pattern was then worked on them by means of a very dark colour, (almost black,) but applied in such a body as to stand up from the surfaceⁱ. A coating of red coloured varnish over the whole completed the work.

^h Most of these processes will be found in Mrs. Merrifield's excellent translation of Cennini. (Lumley, 1844.)

ⁱ M. Viollet-le-Duc says that these patterns were stamped on the gesso when wet, (as No. 5,) then gilt, and afterwards coloured black. Upon close inspection I distinctly saw the gold surface where the raised colour had come off, which of course would not have been the case if it were stamped.

5. Two of the columns in the centre compartment appear to have been treated differently. A leaden or wooden stamp was engraved like a seal, and when the gesso was wet it was applied all over, so as to cause a raised surface; the whole was then gilt and burnished. I have, however, very strong doubts as to whether the ornament of the two columns in question was effected by this process, and whether it may only be a variety of No. 4, the raised colour having been pink instead of black; but so minute and regular is the decoration that its execution would certainly have taken immense time and pains.

6. The imitation enamels which occur in the framework and in the principal parts of the architecture were thus made. The gesso ground was gilded and burnished, and upon it was painted the various colours of the enamels by means of tempera. All of them except the red are opaque, but instead of imitating the *champlève* enamels, which at that time were the most fashionable, the artist appears to have taken for his models the more ancient *cloisonné* process, leaving thin lines of the gold ground to separate his colours^k. Over all was placed a thick piece of white glass, which was further prevented from slipping on the two sides where it was not supported by the beads of the framework by two thin pieces of brass let into the ground; the cement resembling putty was then applied all round and gilded as in the case of the jewels. In those instances where there were no beads at all to protect the glass, as in the ornaments which occur in the middle panels, a shallow brass box was nailed to the wood, and inside we find the gesso ground, the gilding, the painting, and the glass secured with putty. In the woodcut several of these boxes are shewn as empty, and displaying the heads of the nails, while others are represented as perfect, and with the glass and the painting beneath.

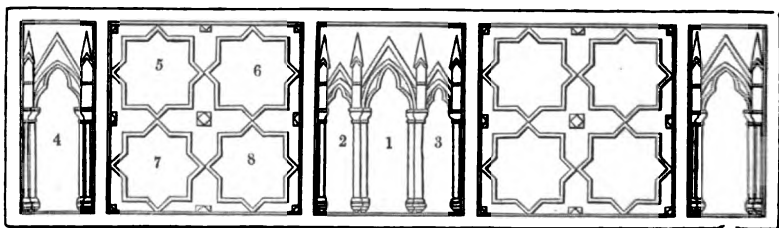
7. The interstices between the stars of the penultimate compartments are filled in by large pieces of blue glass with a pattern of thin gold foliage on the upper surface. The metal in this instance appears to be applied by means of something not

^k It is almost needless to state that *champlève* enamels have the ground hollowed out to receive the enamels; in the *cloisonné*, on the contrary, these hollows are made by means of thin strips of metal soldered on to the ground.

unlike the fat oil we gild with at the present day, and the glass is put on the gesso ground, and has no pallion or foil beneath. The putty, or rather its substitute, is used to fix these pieces of glass to the framework and to each other where they touch.

Another variety of this work occurs in the upper part of the central compartment¹. Here blue and red glass is cut into small pieces, and joined together by means of the putty: the red pieces, which are hexagonal, have a gilded lion within a border, but the blue, which are square and very small, have no ornament at all. As a general rule, this oil gilding on the glass has not stood well. Pieces of glass are also used in various parts of the architecture; they are represented black in the woodcut, but in reality are red, blue, and green. The practice of using glass in small spandrels of arches and tracery was a very common one at the period this retabulum was made, and we shall see it employed in the sedilia, the coronation chair, and the great tombs in the choir.

8. A few words should be said about the jewels, all of which I am afraid are false. Besides the false jewels there are false cameos, of which two remain perfect, while there are the glass grounds of three others. Of those which remain one represents two heads, perhaps Castor and Pollux, and the other an empress; they have evidently been cast from antiques, but touched up and modelled by the medieval artist. The mode of manufacture appears to be the application of an impression made in the putty to a piece of coloured glass. In the present instance the grounds are blue. The medieval modelling of the casts from the antique strongly reminds us of Matthew Paris's drawing of the great cameo at St. Alban's.



¹ The upper part of the end compartments have the imitation enamel; the plates of glass are here comparatively very large.



2.

1.

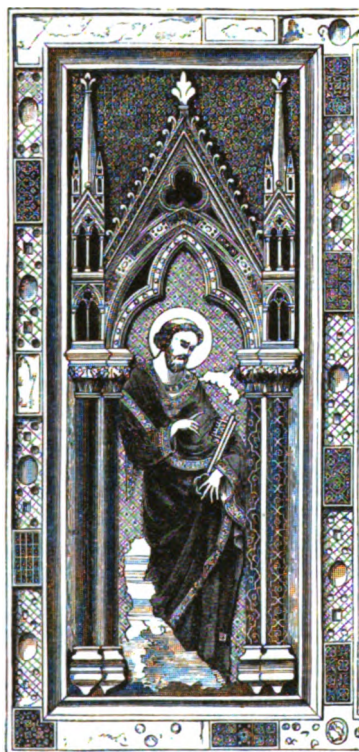
3.

Central Compartment.

1. Our Saviour.

2. The Blessed Virgin.

3. St. John.



4.

End Compartment, (dexter side).

4. St. Peter.

We now come to the Iconography, which will better be understood by a reference to the diagram, p. 110. In the centre of all (No. 1) is a standing figure of our Saviour as Creator. With one hand He blesses, and in the other holds a globe: this latter contains, first of all water, with a boat on it; then land, with trees, an animal, and a bird (crane?); and lastly, clouds and a flying bird^m. The right hand, which is raised in the act of blessing, has the appearance of having been touched up. As to the features, it may be observed that the nose is long, the alæ raised up, and there is very little drawing in the mouth, the corners of which go down.

On the dexter side of our Lord (No. 2) is the Blessed Virgin. She holds a palm branch, brought to her from heaven by the Angel Gabriel shortly before her Assumptionⁿ. On the sinister side of our Lord (No. 3) we find St. John. He holds the palm in his right hand, for, according to the legend, he bore it before the body of the Virgin during the funeral. In his left he holds his Gospel.

The end compartment on the dexter side (No. 4) is occupied by a figure of St. Peter. This is by far the best figure in the retabulum; it is also the most perfect. With his right hand he indicates the two keys which he holds in his left. In the face we remark the high forehead, the large space between the eyebrow and eyelid, the curved lower eyelid, the bald head. The hands also are fairly drawn, which is more than can be said for the feet of our Lord. The opposite compartment at the sinister end doubtless presented us with a figure of St. Paul, but everything here has been obliterated, and the oak itself covered with a neat coating of white paint. The same remark applies to the whole of the penultimate sinister compartment: the dexter one has been much more fortunate, and there we find tolerably preserved paintings of the miracles of our Lord in three out of the four stars which compose the pattern.

^m In the apse of the church of Grenna, in Sweden, the Creator holds a large circle, in the middle of which is the world: this contains water, with a fish in it and a boat on it; while the land is represented by a hilly landscape, with two castles, and a man walking by the edge of the water. See Mandelgren's *Monuments Scandinaves*, Paris, 1860.

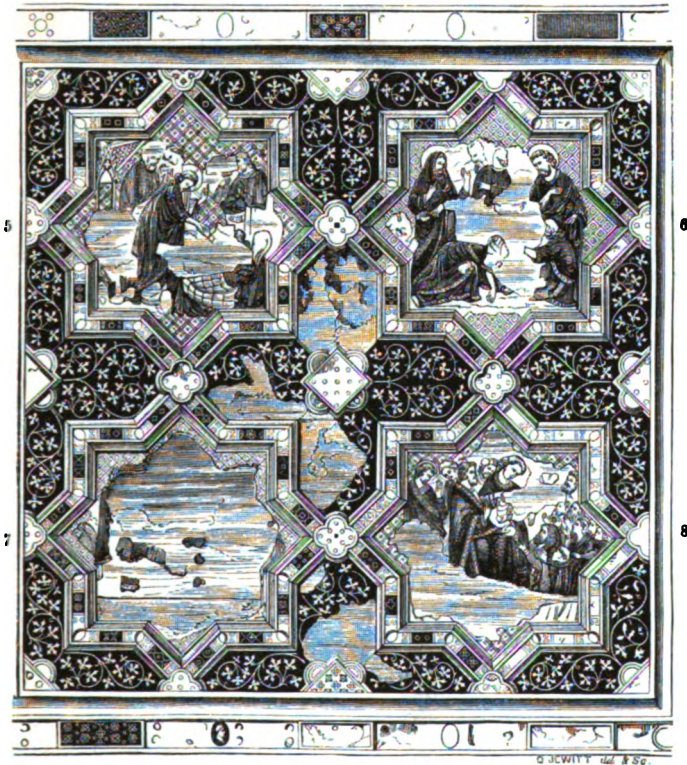
ⁿ See Golden Legend—The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

No. 5 represents the Healing of Jairus's Daughter. The girl has long flowing hair, and the coverlid of the bed is made of fur (vair). Our Lord holds a cross in one hand, and clasps the girl's hand with the other. On one side are the Apostles in the usual drapery, and on the other the father and friends in tight secular garments. Some architecture shews that the scene takes place inside a house.

No. 6 is the Restoring Sight to the Blind Man. Our Saviour is stooping down and grasping the clay with His hand; not writing on the ground as M. Viollet-le-Duc thinks, who sees in the subject the woman taken in adultery. Around stand the Apostles.

No. 7 is totally ruined; we only know that it was an outdoor subject from some scraps of grass in the foreground.

No. 8 is the Feeding the Five Thousand, and offers nothing very remarkable. It should be observed that all the paintings are on a gold ground, and in all of them lines of gold are applied in patterns on the borders of the garments.



Dexter side.

5. The Raising of Jairus' Daughter.
7. Obliterated.

6. Christ Restoring Sight to the Blind Man.
8. The Feeding of the Five Thousand.

ACCOUNT FOR A FRONTAL OF THE ALTAR, &c.

CHANCELLOR'S ROLL, 56 HENRY III.

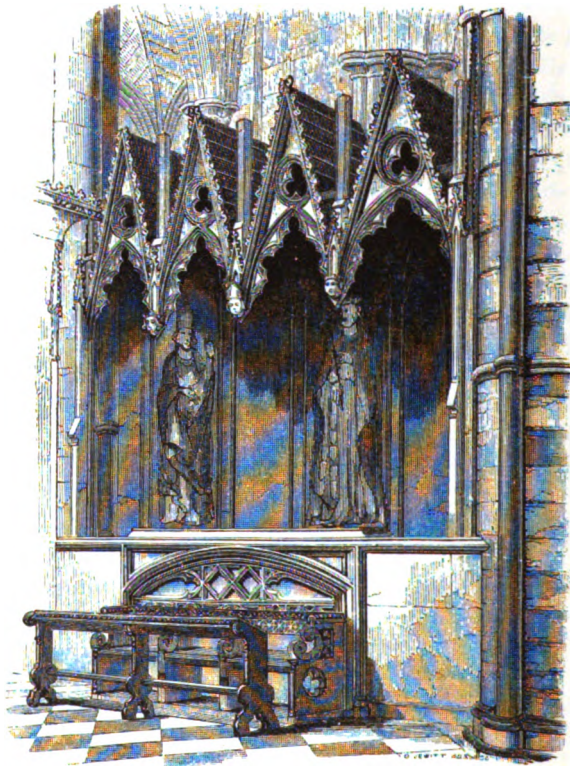
(From the Public Record Office.)

Compotus Willielmi de Gloucestria de denarijs receptis de thesauro Regis per manus thesaurarij et camerariorum de Garderoba Regis per manus diversorum custodum ejusdem et aliunde ad diversa jocalia Regis facienda et reparacione et emendacione eorundem, ad frontale majoris altaris Westmonasterij ymaginem argenti ultra tumbam Katerine filie Regis, ad operationes feretri beati Edwardi, et ad alias diversas operationes Regis faciendas, per Henricum Otindone pro se et alijs executoribus testamenti ejusdem Willielmi per breve Regis in quo premissa continentur.

Idem reddit compotum de xx. marcis receptis ad scaccarium per manus thesaurarij et Camerariorum ad aurum emendum anno. Et de xx. libris receptis per manus eorum anno xl. Et de xx. libris receptis per manus eorundem anno xlj super diversa brevia sua de liberate. Et de xx. libris receptis per manus eorum anno eodem. Super breve Regis continens celxijⁱⁱ viij^s v^d. Et de xvijⁱⁱ x^s receptis per manus eorundem in termino Sancti Michaelis anno xlij. Et de iiijⁱⁱ xixⁱⁱ xvj^s viij^d receptis per manus eorundem per perticulas ad aurum emendum anno eodem. Et de lxx. marcis receptis per manus eorundem in termino Sancti Michaelis anno xlvj. Et m'm'vccclxixⁱⁱ vi^s receptis de garderoba Regis temporibus diversorum custodum ejusdem garderobe Regis. Summa m'm'm'vjⁱⁱ xij^s viij^d. In thesauro nichil. Et magistro Petro de Ispannia pro ij. tabulis decenter depictis et depositis ante altare beate Marie in ecclesia Westmonasterij iiijⁱⁱ xⁱⁱ. Et magistro Willielmo pictori monacho Westmonasterij pro tabernaculo depicto circa lectum Regis in camera sua apud Westmonasterium xx. marcas. Et in quadam ymagine lingnea ad tumbam Katerine filie Regis in ecclesia Westmonasterij xv^s. Et in argento posito ultra predictam tumbam desuper per totum xjⁱⁱ xij^s viij^d. Et in operatione dicte ymaginis jam argenti xijⁱⁱ. Et in auro ad eandem deaurandam ixⁱⁱ iiij^s iiij^d. Et in lapidibus ibidem ciijⁱⁱ tam perlis quam amatistis ad ornamenta ejusdem ymaginis xl^s. Et in xij. ulnis de canabo ad frontale magni altaris ecclesie predicte et cera ad eundem pannum ceranda v^s vj^d. Et in vj. marcis auri ad idem frontale liij. marcas. Et in operatione dicti

auri et sessura et filatura ejusdem iiij^{u} xiiij^{s} . Et in ij . libris serici albi et in duobus serici crocei ad idem opus xxxv^{s} . Et in perlis albis ponderis v . marcarum et dimidiæ ad idem opus lxxj^{u} . Et pro grossis perlis ad borduram ejusdem panni ponderis ij . marcarum xij^{u} dimidiam marcam. Et in una libra sericij grossi x^{s} . Et in stipendio quatuor mulierum operancium in predicto panno per iiij . annos et iiij . partes unius anni xxxvj^{u} . Et in $\text{ccciiij}^{\text{u}}$ vi . esmallis^a [esmall'] ponderis liij^{s} . ad borduram predictam. Et lxxvj . asmallis^a [asmall'] grossis ponderis lxx^{s} ad idem frontale iiij^{u} xvj^{s} . Et pro xl . gernetis positis in predictis borduris lxxvj^{s} . Et in castoniis^b auri ad dictas gernetas imponendas ponderis xij^{s} vj^{d} , cxij^{s} vj^{d} . Et in factura earundem xxij^{s} . Et in pictura argenti posita subtus predicta [p'dic'a] asmalla [asmall'] ij . marcas. Et in vj . ulnis cardonis de viridi iiij^{s} . Et in carbone cera borosia arguella cinere filo feni cinere a cero et quatuor pellibus multonum cum clavis $\text{xxxiiij}^{\text{s}}$ viiij^{d} . Et in stipendio Magistri Walteri aurifabri diversis temporibus $\text{lxxiiij}^{\text{s}}$. Et in stipendio magistri Edwardi aurifabri per idem tempus iiij^{u} xj^{s} iiij^{d} . Et in stipendio Roberti et Thome aurifabri operancium vj . marcas iiij^{s} pondere auri scilicet in trifura [t'fur'a^c] basorum et columpnorum circa dictum feretrum lx^{s} . Et in una arca [acha] empti ad predicta et alia ornamenta imponenda iiij^{s} . Summa misarum reparacionum et emendacionum predictorum $\text{ccciiij}^{\text{u}}$ xix^{u} xvij^{s} . Et debet m^{l} m^{l} dc vj^{u} xv^{s} vj^{d} . Idem reddit com-potum de eodem debito. In thesauro nichil.

^a Enamels.^b Chatons, 'settings.'^c query.



The Sedilia.

THE SEDILIA*.

A VERY small acquaintance with the churches of our own country is sufficient to convince the student of architecture how much importance our forefathers gave to the stone seats we usually find in the south walls of chancels, and which are usually known under the name of the Sedilia. Very often, indeed, as at Tewkesbury and at Heckington, we see the work of the sculptor and carver most lavishly applied to stone, but at Westminster, for some reason or other, they are executed in wood, and instead of the sculptor and carver the painter and gilder have been called in to complete the decoration. Wood-work of the thirteenth century, as everybody knows, is excessively rare, and still more so are those few specimens which were once resplendent with colour and gold. Unfortunately, no one piece of furniture at Westminster has suffered more mutilation than the Sedilia, and we now see a mere wreck of what they were when first erected in the latter part of Edward the First's reign, for to this period several circumstances would lead us to refer them. However, a tolerably accurate idea of their former state may be obtained if we consult the second volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, published by the Society of Antiquaries, where some very satisfactory plates (considering the period at which they were executed) are to be found, illustrating a paper read before the Society in 1778, by Sir Joseph Ayloffe. The occasion was this. It appears that some pieces of tapestry, evidently mediæval, (for they represented the deeds of Edward the Confessor and the coronation of sundry kings,) were put round the two easternmost bays of the choir at the coronation of Charles I. There they were allowed to remain until the Great Rebellion, when they were taken down, and not restored until the coronation of Charles II. In 1706, when the new altar-piece was erected,

* By W. Burges, Esq.

they were removed for good, and other pieces substituted which are now preserved in the Jerusalem Chamber. They, in their turn, gave place to a wainscoting in 1775, when Sir J. Ayloffe luckily seized the opportunity to have both the sedilia and the tomb of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, properly drawn and described; and it is only by looking at the *Vetusta Monumenta*, or, better still, at the original coloured drawings in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, that we discover how very much we have lost since that date.

Most Sedilia consist of three niches, the seats of which generally rise as they approach the east, and were appropriated to the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon. Usually another niche, forming part of the same composition and situated still further eastward, contains the piscina. Now at Westminster there are certainly the four niches, but no appearance of a piscina: perhaps a drain in the floor did duty instead, as we occasionally see elsewhere. At present the three intermediate pinnacles on the north side finish with heads, and do not go down to the ground; but in the plate of the *Vetusta Monumenta* two of them are shewn going down, leaving the middle one as at present. In all probability they all went down alike. Again, the plate shews a sort of high box, which we are told had even then fragments of precious stuffs adhering to it; but this was evidently not original, for it was far too high to sit upon, and there could not have been steps up to it, for the bases of the buttresses finish on an original stone step some eight inches above the ground. Unfortunately, when the wainscoting was removed at the coronation of George IV. or shortly after, the Sedilia appear to have come to grief, for they were raised bodily the height of a foot^b, the two

^b If we take a section through the Sedilia we shall find that the ancient seat must have been at the level, and indeed on the top, of Sebert's tomb. In this calculation we must allow, first of all, the eight-inch step mentioned by Sir J. Ayloffe, and secondly, we must bring down the whole Sedilia some fifteen inches; i.e. to their old level. This view of the matter is confirmed by a woodcut in the "Gentleman's Magazine" for 1825, p. 303. In it we distinctly see the state of the Sedilia subsequent to the removal of the wooden box shewn in the *Vetusta Monumenta*. This box was taken away at the request of Mr. Harding, from whose work (*Antiquities in Westminster Abbey*) the woodcut was borrowed. The Sedilia are shewn at their proper level, and underneath the seat—which there appears to

intermediate supports we see in the plate taken away, and instead of the high box or seat, a plaster imitation of Sebert's tomb was substituted. It is much to be hoped that the known good taste of the present Dean and Chapter, as well as that of their accomplished architect, will make short work of the latter eyesore, and cause an oak seat to take its place. Nobody, indeed, for one moment wishes for a complete restoration, for mutilated and repainted as are the decorations, they still give us, with the help of documents, a tenfold better idea of the ancient state of the Sedilia than any modern work could possibly do. That the Sedilia are really wanted is evident by the modern bench shewn in the woodcut; and when we have such Sedilia as those at Westminster one can only regret that they are not in actual service.

In an architectural point of view the most noticeable things are, 1. the amount of cusping and foliation shewn in the arches*, which is rather an unusual feature in such early work; 2. the comparative heaviness of the principal mouldings for a wooden construction; this remark, however, does not apply to the foliations, which are of edge-tracery; 3. the resemblance of the crockets to those on the coronation chair; 4. the flat spaces between the little columns at the back which take the vaulting-ribs; and which, I cannot help thinking, must once have been connected with other mouldings and columns. Sir J. Ayloffe, indeed, tells us that he found the space coloured red; but then that might have been an ancient restoration.

By means of the drawings in the library of the Society of Antiquaries, and with the help of the few vestiges which remain, we are enabled to ascertain pretty accurately the scheme of colouring. The processes also appear to have been much the same as we find in the Retabulum. Thus there was

be entire—is shewn the back of the arch of Sebert's tomb. At that time, however, the two intermediate buttresses had disappeared, and we are further told in a note that “these canopies have been recently painted.” (1825.) The removal of the wooden box also brought to light the lower part of the figure of an ecclesiastic in the compartment between the two kings, thus shewing that the upper part must have been destroyed after the wooden box had been erected.

* According to the print in the *Vetusta Monumenta* the trefoiled circles in the pediments were again foliated.

the usual coating of gesso, then the principal mouldings (all of which were gilded) had a raised pattern stamped on the gesso when it was wet, and, according to the description, some of this gilding was burnished and the rest left dead. The hollows were also picked out with red, and the centre circle and its trefoil were filled in with pieces of red glass placed upon a gilded ground⁴, but the spandrels of the canopy had blue glass on a silver ground. As the blue glass covered a considerable surface, it was applied in several pieces. Doubtless this glass was formerly decorated with a gilded pattern on its upper surface, such as we still see on the Retabulum, but as the gilding was only applied by means of fat oil and not burned in, it was very liable to come off, and is therefore not mentioned by Sir Joseph Ayloffe. Inside, we are told that the little columns and the ribs of the vaulting were in white and black, while the spandrels of the latter were red ornamented with white foliage; all of which was probably an ancient restoration, as it is obviously out of keeping with the richness of the canopies and the figures in the panels. These latter betray most evident signs of having undergone a very large amount of restoration, white having freely been substituted for the gilding. At present two only of them remain, viz. the most eastern and the penultimate, both representing kings; the former is generally supposed to represent King Sebert: and in the woodcut in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," above referred to, there are traces of an ecclesiastic, probably Bishop Mellitus, at the bottom of the next compartment. However that may have been, there is positively nothing whatever whereby to identify the King with Sebert; on the contrary, tradition states that he was represented on one of the panels on the south side over his tomb; and it is hardly probable that he should have been painted twice over; therefore it is just probable that the figure may represent Henry III., and the ecclesiastic might have been Abbot Ware. However, there is little doubt about the next figure being an English king, for the ground is red, and diapered with little golden lions. All the historians tell us that it is the portrait of Henry III., but

⁴ The three corbel-heads, representing two kings and a bishop, were decorated with imitation jewels.

it is just as likely that it may be Edward I., (in whose reign this piece of furniture was made;) more especially as this is a younger looking figure than the other, and wants the beard which we see both in the painting of the elder king and in the bronze effigy of Henry III. The last compartment is quite bare on either side; this is accounted for by Gough, who tells us, in the introduction to his "Sepulchral Monuments," that it was deprived of its remaining colours when it was taken out to form a "passage to some of the royal family, who were seated in this tomb at coronations." From what can be made of out of these paintings, they appear to have been executed in a very spirited manner, and are quite equal, if not superior, to contemporary Italian art; it should also be remarked that they are considerably above life-size, and have been painted in the usual manner with tempera, and then covered with an oleaginous varnish. As to the last panel on the north side, we have no indications whatever about it.

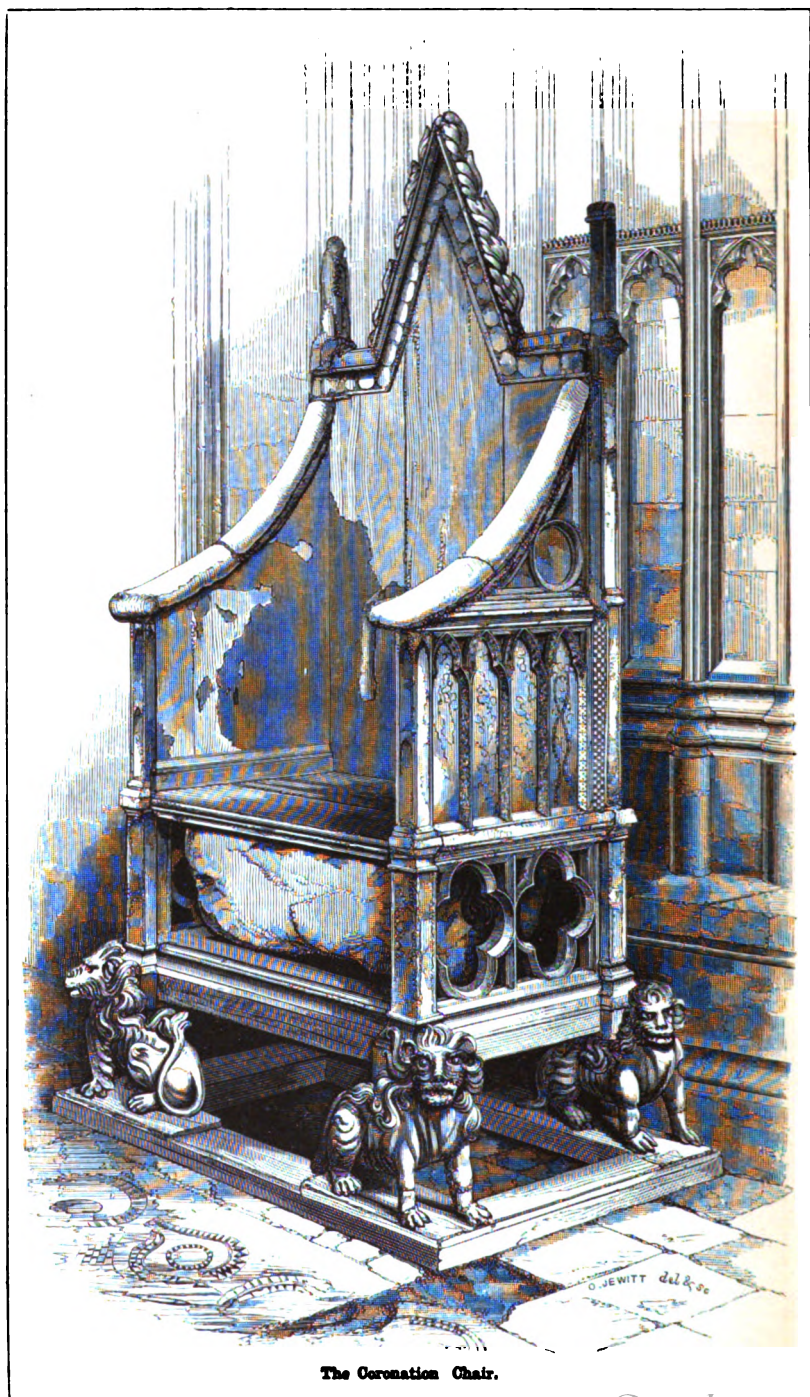
We are more lucky about the south side, which stands immediately over King Sebert's tomb; indeed, up to the last few years the Sedilia were always described as being part of the tomb itself.

Here, we read, were pictures of St. John the Baptist, King Edward the Confessor, St. Peter, and King Sebert, with verses by way of question and answer beneath; and Weever, in his "Funeral Monuments," has preserved those belonging to St. Peter; they ran thus:—

"Hic Rex Seberte pausas, mihi condita per te
Hæc loca lustravi, demum lustrando dicavi."

Of these, only one figure remained when Dart published his work: he calls it Sebert, and says (in which he is followed by other writers) that there is a turban on his head. However, Malcolm, in his *Londinum Redivivum*, 1803, has given a plate of the figure from a drawing made in 1791 by Mr. Schnebbelie; and from it we distinctly learn that it was Edward the Confessor, and that the turban was all a mistake; besides, the king held the ring in his hand, and was distinguished by a nimbus, all of which indicate very clearly whom the painter intended to

represent. Of the remaining figures not a vestige has been left. It is also rather doubtful where the verses were placed, for the figures on the north side go very nearly to the bottom, and although the lower part of the figure drawn by Schnebbelie is destroyed, yet if we complete it, it would leave but very little room, if any, for the inscription.



The Coronation Chair.

THE CORONATION CHAIR^a.

THANKS to the industry of the late Mr. Joseph Hunter, we have more documentary evidence regarding this well-known piece of furniture than of almost anything else connected with the Abbey. In vol. xiii. of the "Archæological Journal" will be found a most interesting article by this gentleman upon "Edward the First's Spoliations in Scotland, A.D. 1296." From it we find that the king took the castle of Edinburgh at the beginning of June, and we also learn from an inventory that three coffers containing plate and jewelled vessels were sent to Westminster. At the beginning of August he visited the abbey of Scone, where the kings of Scotland had always been crowned, and where he found the "fatal stone" enclosed in a chair. No stone ever had so wonderful a history; it was said to have been the identical one upon which Jacob's head rested when, at Beth-el, he saw the vision of the angels ascending and descending: it had from thence travelled into Egypt, from thence to Spain, thence to Ireland, and lastly to Scotland. Moreover, King Kenneth caused the following distich to be engraved upon it:—

"Ni fallat fatum Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem."

A prophecy which was of course fulfilled when James I. was called to rule over the whole island^b. However, Edward had very different views on the matter. In his eyes it was both a precious relique, and an emblem of sovereignty which it was most desirable to remove from the eyes of the Scottish people; and accordingly we find that it was removed, for shortly after his visit several inventories make mention of "Una petra magna

^a By W. Burges, Esq.

^b There is a rectangular groove, 1 ft. 2 in. by 9 in., on the upper surface, which may probably have received an engraved plate of metal.

super quam reges Scociæ solebant coronari." As to what became of the original chair the documents give us no information, but we do know, thanks to Mr. Hunter, pretty accurately the history of the present one. It appears that the king intended in the first instance to make the chair in bronze, and that Adam, the king's workman, had actually begun it; indeed, some parts were even finished, and tools bought for the cleaning up of the casting. However, the king changed his mind, and we have accordingly 100 shillings paid for a chair in wood, made after the same pattern as the one which was to be cast in copper^c; also 13s. 4d. for carving, painting, and gilding two small leopards in wood, which were delivered to Master Walter the painter, to be placed upon and on either side of the chair made by him^d. The wardrobe account of the 29th Edw. I. enables us to follow the progress of the work, for Master Walter is there paid £1 19s. 7d. "for making a step at the foot of the new chair, in which the Scottish stone is placed near the altar, before the shrine of St. Edward, and for the

^c Had the chair been made in metal, it is most probable that all the tracery would have been pierced. In Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages" there is a print of a silver chair still preserved in the city of Barcelona; it is almost entirely composed of pierced tracery: the supposed date, 1395.

^d "Eidem [id est Adæ] pro diversis custibus per ipsum factis circa quandam cathedram de cupro quam Rex prius fieri preceperat anno xxv^o post reditum suum de Scocia, pro petra super quam Reges Scociæ solebant coronari inventa apud Scone anno xliiii^o superponenda juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edwardi in Ecclesia Abbathie Westmonasterii: et nunc eadem petra in quadam cathedra de ligno facta per Magistrum Walterum pictorem Regis loco dictæ Cathedræ quæ prius ordinata fuit de cupro est assessa: videlicet pro una Cathedra de ligno facta ad exemplar alterius cathedræ fundenda de cupro, c. sol.—Et pro m^o d. lib. cupri emptis una cum stagno empto ad idem cuprum allaiandum, xii. lib. v. sol.—Et pro vadiis et stipendiis unius operarii fundentis eandem cathedram et preparantis pecios ejusdem una cum formis ad hoc inveniendum et faciendum; per certam conventionem factam cum eodem, x. lib.—Et pro stipendiis diversorum operancium in metallo predicto post formationem ejusdem cathedræ mensibus Junii et Julii ante primum diem Augusti anno xxv^o quo die dictæ operationes cessarunt ex toto per preceptum Regis ratione passagii sui versus Flandriam, ix. lib. vii. sol. xi. den.—Et pro ustilimentis emptis pro operationibus predictis et emendacione aliorum per vices xl. sol.—Et pro duobus leopardis parvis de ligno faciendis depingendis et deaurandis, et liberatis Magistro Waltero pictori ad assidendis super cathedram de ligno factum per dictum Magistrum Walterum per utrasque costas xlii. sol. iii. den. per computum factum cum eodem apud Westmonasterium xxvii. die Marcii anno xxviii^o. Summa xxxix. lib. vi. sol. iii. den."

wages of the carpenters and of the painters, and for colours and gold employed; also for the making of a covering to cover the said chair^e." The present step and lions are modern work.

The step may have been a sort of platform, occupying that space at the extreme west of the Confessor's chapel which is now unpaved¹. The destination of the chair appears to have been very clear, from the following entry by a contemporary hand in the inventory of the last year of Edward's reign:—"Mittebatur per preceptum regis usque abbathium de Westmonasterio ad assedendum ibidem juxta feretrum S^{ti} Edwardi in quadam cathedra lignea deaurata quam Rex fieri precepit (ut reges Angliæ et Scociæ infra sederent die coronationis eorundem²;) ad perpetuam rei memoriam." Walsingham, however, says, "Jubens inde fieri celebrantium cathedram sacerdotum." Most probably both accounts are true, and in Walsingham's time it might have formed a seat for the priest who officiated at the altar of St. Edward.

The next thing we hear of the stone is contained in a royal writ of July 1, 1328, addressed to the abbot and monks of Westminster, saying that the council had come to the determination to give up the stone, and enjoining them to deliver it to the sheriff of London, to be carried to the Queen Mother. This resolution does not, however, appear to have been carried out, for the Scotch have never shewn the stone to have been in their possession since Edward carried it off, and we Londoners have always been able to point to it.

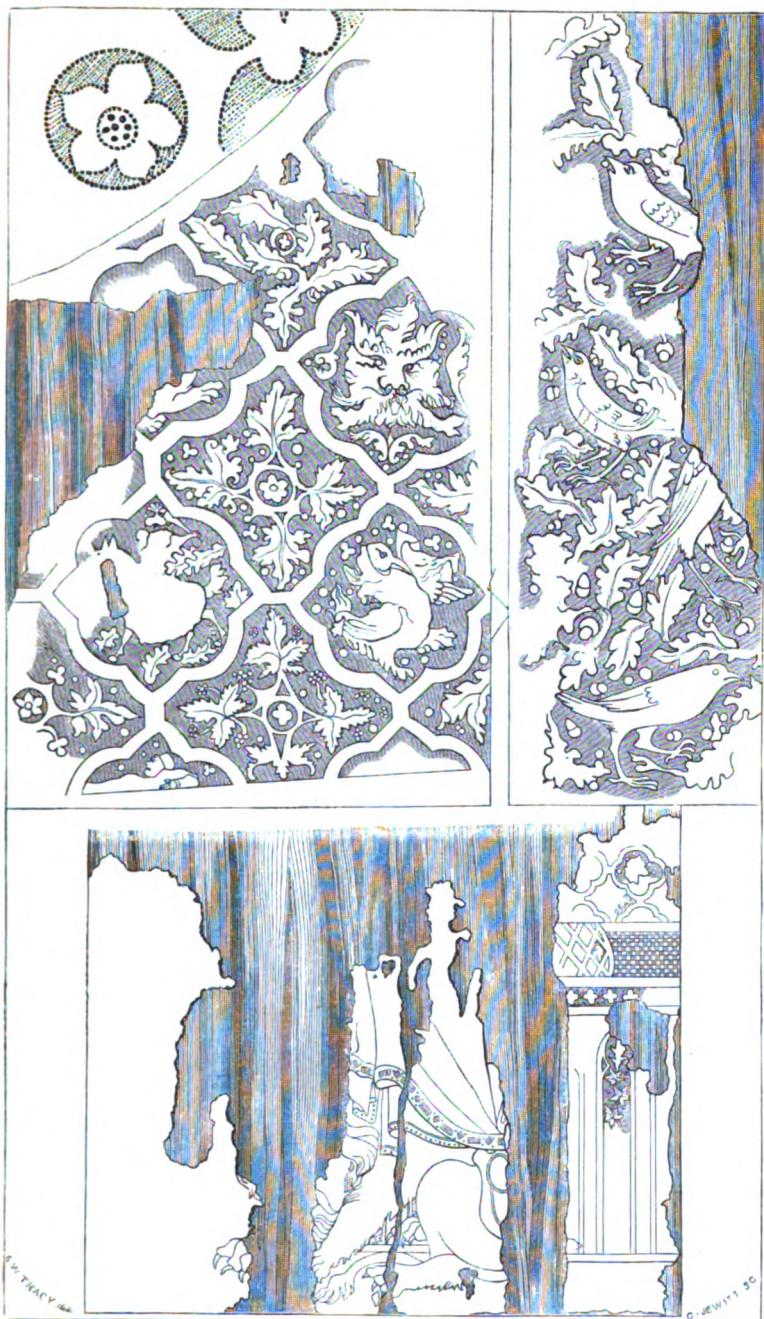
Thus far Mr. Hunter; it now only remains to say a few words respecting the manufacture and decorations of the chair.

* "Magistro Waltero pictori, pro custubus et expensis per ipsum factis circa unum gradum faciendum ad pedem novæ cathedræ in qua petra Scociæ reponitur juxta altare ante feretrum Sancti Edwardi in Ecclesia Abbatis Westmonaster' juxta ordinationem Regis, mense Martii, et in stipendiis carpentariorum et pictorum eundem gradum depingendum, et pro auro et coloribus diversis emptis pro eadem depingenda; una cum factura unius cæsi pro dicta cathedra cooperianda, sicut patet per particulas inde in garderoba liberatas, i. lib. xix. sol. vii. den."

¹ The marble throne in the Capella Reale at Palermo, which by the way is ascended by five steps, is likewise placed at the extreme west end of the building.

² The words within brackets are scratched out in the original.

It is made of oak, fastened together with pins, and covered with a coat of gesso, which was afterwards gilded. From the multiplicity and fineness of the moulding it is very easy to credit the account of its being a copy of a work intended to be cast in bronze. In many instances, also, the mouldings have rather less projection on their starting from the ground of the panels than we should give to wood-work. The two little leopards probably surmounted the two pinnacles of which we still see the remains on either side ; or they might have been intended as rests for the hands, and placed at the extremities of the arms. The arms themselves appear to have been moulded, but it is very difficult to say much about the matter, as they are covered with a stuffed canvas padding. The stone is placed immediately below the seat, and was anciently only seen through the open quatrefoils, of which those in the front are all broken away, while the others have lost the shields which they once enclosed. Although many of the mouldings rise in a shallow manner from the panels, yet there are others in which there is a good one-eighth of an inch before the mouldings begin ; this is the case in the circles on the outside of the arms, and in those in the tracery in the back. We may in these instances fairly suppose that circles of coloured glass upon a gilded or silvered ground were inserted, the outside of the glass having a thin pattern in gold, like what we have seen in the Sedilia and the Retabulum. There can be no doubt but that some sort of ornament was applied to the pediment just below the crockets. It might have been, like the framework of the Retabulum, composed of spaces of gold ground with jewels, alternating with imitation enamels ; but from what remains of the gesso ground I am very much inclined to give the preference to a mosaic of differently-coloured glass, ornamented on its upper surface with gilding, in fact, a variety of the mosaic in the upper part of the centre compartment of the Retabulum. In this instance the pattern would appear to have been a succession of parallelograms touching each other, but with the angles cut off so as to afford space for the insertion of triangular pieces of a different colour. But the great ornament of the chair was the gilding, and here we find a process hitherto new to us.



Details of Ornamentation of the Coronation Chair.

The surface was first of all covered with the usual gesso, then gold applied by means of white of egg, then burnished, and a pattern pricked upon it with a blunt instrument before the ground and gilding had lost their elasticity. Great care was required to prevent the instrument with which the dots were made from going through the gold and shewing the gesso underneath, and still greater patience in executing a design, every line of which was to be expressed by very small dots alone. Of the exterior little is to be said beyond that the panels are filled up with dotted foliage, and that there is no work bestowed on the gilding of the mouldings. It has long been known that the inside of the arms was decorated with diapers, and that there were some remains of a figure on the back, but no one as yet has had the patience to make a careful drawing of them. However, my friend Mr. Tracy some short time ago very kindly consented to make the attempt, and by the help of a dark lantern and a strong lens he has been enabled, assisted by a large amount of perseverance, to produce the drawings from which the accompanying woodcuts have been made. On the dexter side is foliage with very spiritedly executed birds, on the sinister a diaper of compound quatrefoils, each of which enclosed a different subject; thus in one we see a knight on horseback brandishing his sword, in another a monster's head ending in foliage, &c. This custom of filling in diapers with different subjects was continued still later, and we find it occurring in what are called the Flemish brasses, such as those at Lynn and St. Alban's. It should be remarked that the quatrefoils are by no means drawn with mathematical precision, the artist then, as now, not finding the cramped position in which he was obliged to draw them favourable to his work.

The upper part of the figure at the back is totally and irretrievably gone, and it was only by the most diligent research that Mr. Tracy was enabled to make out what is shewn on his drawing. The figure probably represented a king seated, his feet resting on a lion. The front of the throne is panelled, and the panels filled with foliage. The cushion on which he is seated is diapered in lozenges, while the back exhibits a series of quatrefoils connected by pellets.

Such is the coronation chair and such its decoration. When in all the freshness of its glass mosaics and its historiated gilding, it must indeed have been an artistic piece of furniture. We hear a good deal about the revival of mediæval art, and one school especially is loud in its claims for our own English variety; when are they going to give us Retabula, Chairs, and Sedilia such as we see at Westminster?

THE SHRINE OF ST. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR^a.

IN almost every great church or cathedral of the Middle Ages we find some place, generally between the high altar and the Lady-chapel, devoted to the large shrine in precious metal containing the reliques of the saint to whom the church owed its prosperity. Thus at Durham there was the shrine of St. Cuthbert, at Ely that of St. Etheldreda, and at Canterbury that of St. Thomas "the holy blessed martyr," not to mention those at St. Alban's and St. Edmundsbury. It is needless to observe that in every instance the Reformation made very short work with these shrines, whose rich materials (to say nothing of the objections to them as objects of religious veneration) were certain to secure their destruction by the not very scrupulous men who governed England in the first half of the sixteenth century. But, first of all, let us understand what were the component parts of a shrine of the first class. There were at least four distinct parts:—1. the stone basement, at the ^{west} end of which was 2. the altar. The use of the stone or marble basement, which was frequently perforated with small niches, was to support 3. a wooden structure covered with plates of gold or silver, and often enriched with jewels and enamels. In order to preserve the precious metals from the atmosphere, and at the same time to cover up the feretory, as the top part was called, when it was not desired to shew it, there was 4. the cooperulum^b, or a wooden covering suspended from the vaulting above by ropes, and lifted by means of a counterpoise. Shrines of lesser dimensions were kept in all sorts of places, such as above and

^a By W. Burges, Esq.

^b I have used the word cooperulum for the wooden box covering a precious shrine, in order to make a distinction between it and the coopertorium, which, as we know from the accounts of Queen Eleanor's executors, was the name given to a flat wooden canopy such as we see over Richard the Second's tomb.

within altars, and were moreover often carried in procession; but those of the first class, such as that of St. Edward at Westminster, would appear to have been always stationary, and indeed were very little more than ornamented coverings to the body, which was deposited in the upper part of the stone basement. An illumination in Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund*^c shews very clearly the whole arrangement, with the exception of the cooperatorium, to which Mr. Scott first drew my attention, he having found it mentioned as occurring at Durham. Mention of it is also made in the *Colloquies of Erasmus*^d, where Ogygius says, "He opened to us the chest in which the remains of the body of the holy man are said to rest." On which his companion Menedemus asks him, "Did you see the bones?" and Ogygius replies, "That indeed would not be possible unless you had ladders, for a wooden chest covers the golden one, and being lifted up by means of ropes discloses inestimable riches^e." Of all the shrines which once adorned our island, there remain but the lower basement of the one at Westminster and a portion of that at Ely^f. The latter was divided into two parts; the lower one consisted of an open vaulted space, while the upper, which rose to a considerable height, was decorated with niches, and contained the bodies of St. Etheldreda and other saints. The basement at Westminster is more perfect, and Mr. Scott thinks that the lower portion of it has never been disturbed; however, there is not the least doubt but that the cornice is a restoration by Abbot Fakenham in the time of Queen Mary. The material is Purbeck marble, decorated with glass mosaic, the whole clearly the work of Peter the Roman citizen, as the inscription tells us.

The lower parts of the north and south sides are pierced with three niches; it was in these that sick people were frequently left during the night, in the hopes of a cure being effected by

^c British Museum, MS. Harl. 2,278.

^d *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*.

^e The usual representation of the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket simply shews the lower story and the cooperculum. The ridge of the latter was decorated with three finials.

^f There is also part of the basement of a shrine used as the pulpit in Chester Cathedral.

the intercession of the Saint. Above these niches is a number of panels filled in with mosaic and pieces of porphyry and serpentine; they enclose a space in which the body of St. Edward is at present deposited. It appears that when the fere-tory was destroyed the body was taken away and buried somewhere in the Abbey, and Mr. Scott thinks that the shrine was only disturbed so far as was necessary to effect that purpose⁶. At the east end were two twisted pillars, one of which, by the care of Mr. Scott, has been restored from the remaining fragments; of the other only the capital remains; but at the west end there is a large slab inlaid like the rest of the work, and forming a sort of reredos. At the sides of this there are no mosaics, but two holes, which may possibly have served as attachments to the hooks into which were inserted the brass rods supporting the curtains which were usually placed on either side of altars, to prevent draughts of air from making the candles flicker. In small altars the ends of the rods were supported by strings, and in larger with little brass pillars.

At the same time it should be noticed that there are the remains of two pillars larger than those at the eastern end, which may possibly have fulfilled this office, although it is more likely that they were placed at the sides of the reredos, and are the identical pillars shewn in the Cambridge MS., as supporting figures of St. Edward and the pilgrim, which must not be confounded with two other figures of the same personages presented by Edward II.; these latter were of gold.

Of the mosaic it may be remarked that Peter the Roman artizan appears to have adapted his work in some slight degree to suit the Northern taste. Thus the back of each of the niches for the infirm worshippers is divided by thin tracery, forming the space into two lancets and a circle above; in these is introduced the mosaic; so that when perfect the effect must have been very like a stained-glass window.

Again, on a flat space just above the capitals of the eastern

⁶ The account of the destruction of St. Cuthbert's shrine by the Commissioners in Henry the Eighth's reign shews us that the body was in that case deposited in a precisely similar position to that of St. Edward at Westminster. See *The Antiquities of Durham Abbey*.

columns, and running round the south, east and north sides, was formerly this inscription, of which some of the letters still remain, and more doubtless would be discovered could the plaster containing Fakenham's inscription be cleared away. The old lines, which were in letters of blue glass, ran thus:—

ANNO MILENO DOMINI, CUM SEPTUAGENO
ET BIS CENTENO, CUM COMPLETO QUASI DEVO
HOC OPUS EST FACTUM QUOD PETRUS *OPXIT IN ACTVM*
ROMANVS CIVIS, HOMO CAUSAM NOSCERE SI VIS
REX FUIT HENRICUS SANCTI PRÆSENTIS AMICUS^b.

Matthew Paris tells us that the translation of the reliques took place in 1269, which agrees perfectly with the inscription.

Unfortunately we are totally without means of forming any authentic idea of the exact form of the golden feretory that was placed above the marble and mosaic base. If we could believe the Cambridge MS. and the initial letter in Litlington's Service-book, we should consider it as rather low with a sloping top; but the former MS. was written and illuminated in all probability some considerable time before the translation, and the latter is not worthy of much credit, inasmuch as it represents the six niches of the basement all on the same side. It is much more reasonable to suppose that when Fakenham made the present wooden erection he followed the old form, which then must have been fresh in the recollection of very many persons, and that the old arrangement was like that of many other large shrines, viz. an edifice with a high-pitched roof, having aisles at the sides, and perhaps at the ends as well.

The history of the manufacture of the shrine given by Henry III. will probably never be known entirely until all the accounts of his reign relating to the fine arts are published¹, but the following will give some idea of the proceedings.

^b The letters in Italics denote those which are visible in consequence of the destruction of the plaster covering the inscription at the east end.

¹ This would of course be a long and difficult work, but surely a sufficient subscription might be obtained for the purpose should the Government decline, as it most probably would, to undertake it. My friend Mr. Joseph Burt, to whom I owe many of the following extracts, assures me that most curious and valuable information respecting our national art is to be found in these various rolls.

We learn from Ordericus Vitalis that Edward the Confessor was buried before the altar which St. Peter had blessed with the working of miracles. This is confirmed by Fabian, who tells us that the old sepulchre of Edward was on that side of the choir where the monks sing; and most of those engaged in the repairs of the choir in 1848 will remember the cist of a tomb discovered under the central tower.

The next thing we hear about the tomb is that the Conqueror was crowned at the side of it, and presented two palls as coverings, thus shewing that in all probability it was a very plain affair, like tombs in the East at the present day, which are often covered with palls in a similar manner. However, shortly after we find that a stone tomb, very costly, was erected at the Conqueror's expense, and when the sanctity of Edward was demonstrated by the miracle of Wolstan's crozier, which stood upright on the tomb and could be displaced by no one except Wolstan himself, William forthwith called in the aid of the goldsmith, and we accordingly read of a sepulchre decorated with gold and silver.^k This must not be confounded with a shrine or feretory, for Edward was not as yet canonized, but it was by no means uncommon to erect tombs decorated with the precious metals over distinguished personages. For instance, we find William Rufus thus honouring his father's memory at St. Stephen's at Caen; and the fashion continued down to the middle of the fifteenth century, as we see by Henry the Fifth's effigy, which is said to have been plated with silver.

In 1101, some discussion having arisen as to whether Edward's body was incorrupt in consequence of his chaste life, Gilbertus Crispinus, the then abbot, caused the tomb to be opened. Aelred of Rievaulx, to whom we owe most of the foregoing information, has left us a very interesting account of the transaction. The body, as surmised, was found to be incorrupt, and Gundulph, the famous bishop of Rochester, who tried to obtain a hair of the yellow beard as a relique, was unable to pull it out.

Peter of Blois, the next abbot, endeavoured to obtain the canonization of the holy King, but the Pope appears to have

^k Sulcardus.

turned a deaf ear to his solicitations ; most probably on account of Peter himself, who is by no means well spoken of by the chroniclers of the abbey.

His successor, Abbot Laurentius, managed the matter much better, and in 1163 the body of Edward, which was still incorrupt, was transferred to a higher tomb and rich feretory, King Henry II. and Becket being present and assisting. The latter gave a great image of ivory beautifully framed.

The ring said to have been given Edward by St. John the Evangelist was removed and kept as a relique, while the vestments in which he had been originally buried were made into three copes by order of Laurentius. We are left quite in the dark as to the position of the new tomb and shrine, but it is not unreasonable to suppose that it might have been erected immediately at the back of the high altar, so that the shrine could be seen above the dossel.

After this we hear no more about it until 1236, the year of Henry the Third's marriage, when we find him ordering his treasurer to see that an image in the likeness of a certain queen be made, after the fashion of one previously made, to put on the shrine of St. Edward¹.

In 1241, Matthew Paris tells us that King Henry caused a shrine of the purest gold and the most costly jewels to be elaborately constructed at London by picked workmen, for the reliques of St. Edward to be placed therein.

This is confirmed by the following notice of payment, which I owe to Mr. Burt:—

LIBERATE ROLL, 26 HEN. III.

“Deliver, of our treasure, to our beloved clerk, Edward the son of Otho, 258*l.* 9*s.* 3½*d.*, for the acquittance of the works (*operationes*) done by our order at Westminster, from the day of the Holy Trinity in the 25th year of our reign, to the feast of SS. Simon and Jude next following. Deliver also to the same 10 marks for a certain

¹ Rot. Claus. 20 Hen. III. The years of Henry's reign begin on the 28th of October, and thus comprise two months of one year and ten of another. In the following account I have given the year in which the ten months occur as the equivalent of the year of Henry's reign, as strict accuracy is not wanted for our purpose.

wooden shrine for the work (*opus*) of St. Edward made by our order; and to the same 6*l.* 10*s.* for marble bought for the same shrine by our order."

We here see the wooden shrine upon which the gold and silver was to be attached, and which was necessary for the workmen to set out their work before they began. The marble was evidently for the new basement, which, if ever it was executed, was thrown aside for the mosaic one which Petrus civis Romanus finished in 1269.

It is very probable that the workmen worked in the King's palace in the same manner as Torel appears to have done afterwards, and as we find skilled artists having their ateliers in the Louvre under Louis XIV. However that may have been, we find notices of sundry payments to the workmen "*ad operationes feretri beati Edwardi.*"

In 1245 the King began to rebuild the church itself, having previously erected the Lady-chapel, (the latter commenced in 1220,) but most likely the shrine itself was not disturbed until the very last moment, (1252,) when it became absolutely necessary to do so, and it was then perhaps taken to the palace and placed somewhere near where the workmen were employed, probably with a view to the adaptation of the old metal and jewellery to the new shrine. The order runs thus:—

"Edward of Westminster is commanded^m to cause to be made in the new part of the workshop of the shrine of St. Edward ("*In novo opere fabricæ feretri beati Edwardi*"ⁿ) at Westminster a chapel where it can be most commodiously placed, of the length of forty feet and of the breadth of twenty-five feet, and the wall to be (covered) with plaster of Paris, and the story of St. Edward to be painted in the said chapel; and the lower chamber be wainscotted, in which the story of St. Eustace is to be painted, and in the window of the gable the story of Solomon and Marculphus."

^m Rot. Claus., 37 Hen. III., mem. 22.

ⁿ I give this translation of the passage with very great diffidence. Mr. Burtt, than whom nobody is a better authority, thinks the passage simply stands thus, "In the new work of the fabric of the shrine," and refers to the chapel of the Confessor. At the same time it should be remembered that in Florence at the present day the place where the cathedral accounts, models, plans, &c. are kept, is still called the opera.

This temporary chapel might have been like some other domestic chapels mentioned in Parker's "*Domestic Architecture*," where that portion used as the nave is divided into two stories, the upper one for the masters and the lower one for the servants, so that both could hear the same service. In the present case the usual pilgrims were to be provided for, and the division of the limited nave into two stories would be doubly necessary.

In 1253, Henry made his will^o; in it he leaves five hundred marks of silver to finish the shrine of St. Edward.

In 1258, Abbot Ware went to Rome and stayed two years. On his return he might have brought over the materials for the base of the shrine, and for his pavement; or he might only have ordered them, and brought them over, together with Odericus and Petrus, in 1267, but this is a point which is very likely to be some day cleared up at the Record Office.

In 1260^p, we find Edward Fitz Otho keeper of the shrine, in which office the prior and sacrist of the abbey were joined with him. This was a very likely proceeding, if the shrine were kept in the palace. Edward Fitz Otho was the King's architect and man of business, and watched things for his master: the prior and sacrist were adjoined in the interest of the monastery to which the shrine legally belonged.

In 1267, political necessities obliged the King to pawn the jewels belonging to himself and to the abbey. The late Hudson Turner published a list of some of these in the "*Manners and Household Expenses in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*;" and the following gold figures will give some idea of the riches of the shrine:—

"St. Edmund. Crown set with two large sapphires, a ruby, and other precious stones, worth 86*l*.

"King. Ruby on his breast, and other small stones, 48*l*.

"King. Holding in his right hand a flower, with sapphires and emeralds in the middle of the crown, and a great garnet on the breast, and otherwise set with pearls and small stones, 56*l*. 4*s*. 4*d*.

^o See Nichols, *Royal Wills*.

^p Rot. Claus. 44 Hen. III.

^q Rot. Pat. 51 Hen. III., mem. 20. At the end of this notice will be found a transcript of so much of the original as relates to the shrine.

"King with a garnet in his breast, and other stones, 52*l*.

"King with sapphires in his breast, and other stones, 59*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.

"Five golden angels, 30*l*.

"Blessed Virgin and Child, set with rubies, emeralds, and garnets, 200*l*.

"King holding shrine in hand set with precious stones, 103*l*."

"King holding in one hand a cameo with two heads, and in the other a sceptre set with rubies, prasinis, and pearls, 100*l*.

"St. Peter, holding in one hand a church, in the other the keys, trampling on Nero, with a large sapphire in his breast, 100*l*.

"A Majesty with an emerald in the breast, 200*l*.

"There is also mentioned a great cameo in a golden case, with a golden chain, valued at 200*l*.; and another cameo, 28*l*."

The arrangement of these statues might have been this. At one end was the Majesty, at the other the Blessed Virgin; each side was divided into five niches or divisions, each containing a king; and above them, perhaps in another series of niches forming a clerestory, were angels; or, as the whole five angels were only worth 30*l*., they might have been very small and placed on the finials of the pediments of the niches. The other side does not appear to have been completed, for only three statues are mentioned, and no angels.

The King's necessities also obliged him to pawn and even to sell sundry others of the valuables belonging to the Abbey. In Pat. Rot. 51 Henry III. mem. 18, he binds himself to restore them under pain of having his chapel laid under an interdict.

At last his affairs came round, and in 1269 we learn from Matthew Paris that at the instance of Henry King of England the body of St. Edward the King was solemnly transferred to a shrine of gold which he, King Henry, had prepared for it. This date also agrees with that on the basement of the shrine. Wikes tells us that Henry was buried in the old grave of the Confessor, and the expressions made use of by other authors in describing his burial, such as "*ante magnum altarem*," and "*coram magno altari*," would certainly not be applicable to the position of his present tomb.

Among the many valuable documents lately published by the Master of the Rolls is a life of St. Edward in Norman-

* This was doubtless a statue of Henry himself.

French, from a MS. in the University Library, Cambridge. Very little is known of the author beyond that he was attached to the Abbey at Westminster, and that the work was written and illuminated for Eleanor, the queen of Henry III., somewhere about the middle of the thirteenth century*. Unfortunately his work is little more than a metrical translation of Aelred, and finishes with the account of the opening of the tomb described by that author; but the illuminations most probably shew us the shrine as it was when the artist made the illuminations, and on that account it has been considered advisable to engrave two of them. The first occurs in p. 55 of the MS., and is curious as shewing us, 1st, the pillars on either side of the shrine surmounted by statues of St. John the Evangelist and Edward the Confessor; and it is by no means unlikely that the two large twisted columns which we now see at the western end of the basement of the shrine served for a similar purpose†; probably the old statues were transferred to them, and in course of time in their turn gave way to two golden ones presented by Edward II.‡; 2ndly, we should remark the shrine itself, which may perhaps represent that made when the Saint was canonized; and, 3rdly, the infirm persons creeping through holes in the tomb. The latter was by no means an uncommon practice, and in several parts of France tombs of this description still remain. Thus at St. Omer the

* *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, edited by Henry Richard Luard, M.A. 1858.

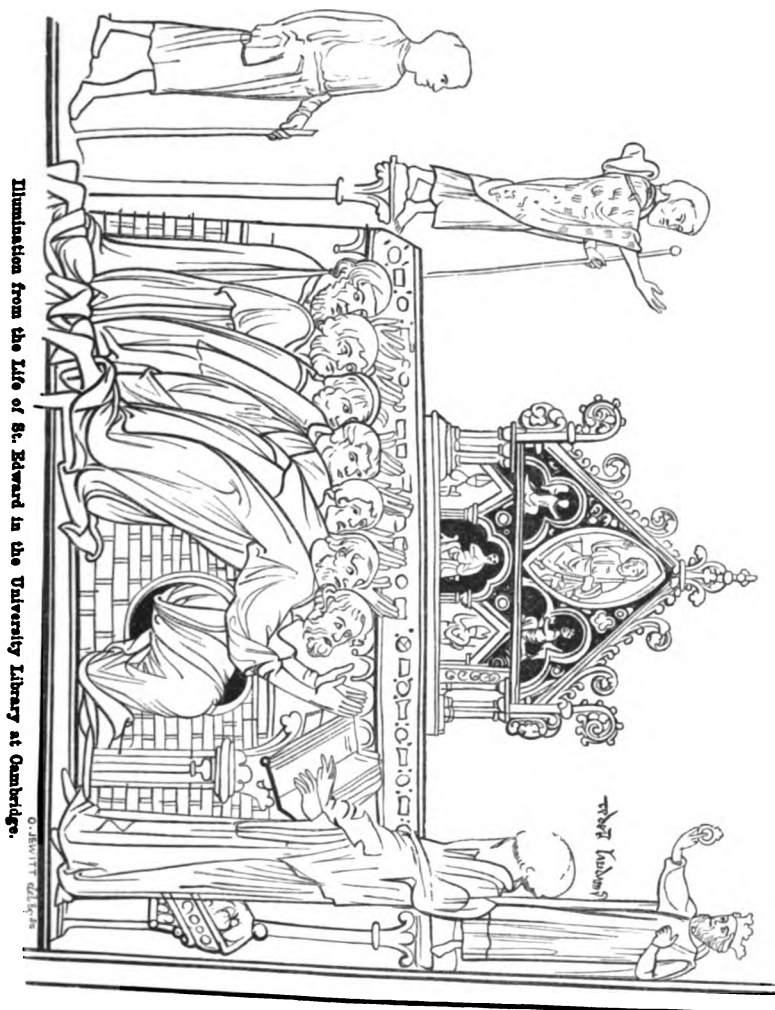
† In the Chancellor's roll printed at the end of the account of the sedilia will be found the entry relating to the tritura (tritura polishing) of the bases and columns around St. Edward's shrine: this was in 1272. As the payment was made to goldsmiths it probably refers to the shrine itself.

‡ My friend Mr. Burtt has kindly communicated to me another entry relative to the marble columns around the shrine; it will be observed that these columns were made during the time Queen Eleanor's and Henry the Third's effigies were in hand. One of the easternmost columns has a foliated capital, which would correspond with the date of the entry.

“WESTMINSTER.

“Liberate Roll 18 and 19 Edw. I. (1290.)

“Edward, &c. to our Treasurer, &c. Deliver of our treasure, to brother Raymond of Wenlock, a monk of Westminster, forty-six shillings and eight-pence for the making of three marble columns, which, by our command, he lately caused to be made around the shrine of St. Edward in the church of Westminster—46s. 8d.”



basement of the tomb that supports the effigy of that saint is hollow, and the trefoil arches in the sides are pierced.

In a little village near Beauvais, in a desecrated chapel, we find the tomb of St. Arnould. The upper slab, which is very thick, has an incised figure with canopy, &c., but in the sides of the tomb are circular holes, and the panels at the ends have also been pierced. The story goes, that up to the time of the great Revolution it was the custom for sick people to creep in at one hole and out at the opposite, and repeat this through all the apertures, finishing with those at the end. The ceremony was repeated three times, and the sick person finished with drinking a cup of water from the neighbouring spring^{*}.

The other woodcut shews the deposition of the body in the tomb after Gundulph had vainly tried to abstract one of the hairs of the beard. It is the last illumination in the MS., and is curious as giving us a side view of the shrine shewed in the preceding illustration. We are still, however, without any authentic material wherewith to make a restoration of the shrine which Henry dedicated in the last years of his reign, and which took so long making. It is of course just possible that the illuminator may have represented it in the MS., but then he must have seen the designs only, for the original was far from completion in the middle of the thirteenth century. The drawing, however, corresponds to a certain degree with the objects described in the inventory.

Very shortly after Henry had assisted at the translation of the body into the new shrine, a very sad event caused an addition to the ornaments of the chapel. His nephew Henry, when returning from the crusade in which St. Louis had died, was assassinated at Viterbo by Simon and Guy de Montford during the elevation of the Host. Matthew of Westminster tells us that his heart was placed in a gilt cup near the shrine of St. Edward in the church at Westminster. Dante, who very properly places his murderer in the Inferno, and up to his chin in the river of blood, relates that the centaur who was then

* An account of this tomb, from the pen of my learned friend the Abbé Barraud, with an illustration of the incised effigy, will be found in one of the late volumes of the *Mémoires de la Société Académique de l'Oise*.

guiding Virgil and himself, shewed them a shade all alone in the corner, (on account of the almost unheard-of impiety of the deed,) saying, "This one struck in God's bosom the heart which is still honoured on the Thames?."

The Italian commentators tell us that the heart was placed in a cup, and deposited on the top of a column in the middle of London Bridge. The anonymous commentator, as quoted by Arrivabene*, gives another account:—

"According to the Ultramontane custom, the heart was taken to England, and carried to London, where, in a covered golden chalice, it was placed in the hand of a statue over the river at London, called the Thames, and there is honoured; and on the garment of the said statue is written, 'Cor gladio scissum do cui consanguineus sum,'—'I give the heart cut with the sword to him to whom I am related;' i.e. to the King Edward."

It is difficult to believe the Italian account of the heart being placed on London Bridge in the face of the direct testimony of Matthew of Westminster, a contemporary writer, and one living on the spot. In all probability the commentators were misled by Dante, who frequently expresses the name of a town by the river upon which it stands. At the same time the Latin inscription on the statue would also point to Westminster Abbey, the *consanguineus* being referable to the Confessor.

Edward I. made the Abbey the depository of the most precious spoils taken in his Welsh and Scottish wars. Here, in 1284, Alphonso, his eldest son, "offered up a certain ornament of gold which had formerly belonged to Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, with other jewels also, which were applied to adorn the tomb of the blessed Edward*." Two years after, the King

” “Poco più oltre il Centauro s'affisse
Sovra una gente che infino alla gola
Parea che di quel bulicame uscisse.
Mostrocci un' ombra dall'un canto sola,
Dicendo: Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
Lo cor che'n sul Tamigi ancor si cola.”

Inferno, xii. 115.

* Arrivabene, *Il secolo di Dante*, p. 47. Wikes, a contemporary writer, uses the expression, "in vase quodam satis prope scrinium in quo Beati Regis Edwardi reliquiæ reconduntur."

* Matt. West.



Illumination from the Life of St. Edward in the University Library, Cambridge.

coming to Westminster, "conveyed a considerable portion of the Cross of our Lord, adorned with gold and silver and precious stones, which he had brought with him from Wales;" and in 1297 he offered to the blessed King Edward, through whose merits he had acquired the regalia of the kingdom of Scotland, a throne (probably the coronation stone) and sceptre and crown of gold.

Edward II. at his coronation offered a pound of gold made in the likeness of the Confessor, and a mark of gold in that of St. John the Evangelist under the form of a pilgrim. It is needless to describe the other reliques and gifts attached to the shrine, more especially as none of them remain. One of the last and most valuable (if indeed it were ever given) is indicated in the Will of Henry VII.^b—

"Also we wol, that our Executours yf it be nat doon by our selfe in our life, cause to be made an Ymage of a King, representing our owen persone, the same Ymage to be of tymber, covered and wrought accordingly with plate of fyne gold, in manner of an armed man, and upon the same armour a Coote armour of our armes of England and France enameled, with a swerd and spurres accordingly; and the same Ymage to knele upon a table of silver and gilte, and holding betwixt his hands the Crowne which it pleased God to geve us, with the victorie of our Ennemye at our furst felde; the which Ymage and Crowne we geve and bequethe to Almighty God, our blessed Lady Saint Mary, and Saint Edward King and Confessour. And the same Ymage and Crowne in the fourme afore rehersed, we wol be set upon, and in the mydds of the Creste of the Shryne of Saint Edward King, in such a place as by us in our life, or by our Executours after our deceasse, shall be thought most convenient and honorable."

This practice of setting a figure on the crest of a shrine was rather common. St. Alban's shrine is said to have had an equestrian statue of one of the Saxon kings attached to it, and one of the illuminations in Lydgate's "*Life of St. Edmund*" shews a similar figure, also mounted on horseback, on the side of the roof of the shrine^c.

All these riches were of course swept away at the Reforma-

^b See Britton's *Henry the Seventh Chapel*, p. 19.

^c *Brit. Mus., MS. Harl., No. 2,278.*

tion, and, as Mr. Scott very justly observes, there is but too much reason to fear that the body of the Confessor was removed and buried in some obscure place. The two entries pointed out to him by Mr. Gough Nichols are to be found in the "Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London," and in the "Diary of Henry Machyn," both published by the Camden Society. They run thus:—

"Item, the v day of Januarii (1555) was Sent Edwardes day, and there was sett up the scrynne at Westmynster, and the aulter with dyvers juelles that the qwene sent thether."—*Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*.

"The xx day of Marche (1557) was taken up at Westminster again with a hondered lights, Kyng Edward the Confessor in the sam plasse wher ys shryne was, and ytt shalle be sett up agayne as fast as my Lord Abbot can have ytt done, for ytt was a godly shyte to have seen yt, how reverently he was cared from the plasse that he was taken up wher he was led when that the abbay was spowled and robyd; and so he was cared and goodly syngyng and senssyng as has bene sene and masse song.

"xix day of April . . . the duke of Muscovea . . . (went) up to se sant Edward shryne nuw set up."—*Diary of Henry Machyn*, 1550—1563.

The present wooden shrine is clearly Abbot Fakenham's work. He also restored the stone basement, filled up those parts which had lost their mosaic with plaster, and painted the imitation mosaics and inscription which we now see. The shrine does not appear to have been disturbed on the restoration of the reformed religion by Elizabeth, and we hear nothing more about it until the time of James II., when the contents of the coffin were partly examined, as will be seen from the following quotation from Dart:—

"One *Young* belonging to the choir of this church, which *Young*, by the way, was no other than Henry Keep, who in King James the Second's time, being reconciled to the Church of Rome, changed his name, sometime after the Coronation of King James the Second, observed the chest before mentioned to be broken, as he supposed, by the fall of a beam from the coronation scaffolding, which had broken a hole in the lid over the breast. He went with two friends who came to see

the tombs, and fetching a ladder to see if the report was true, found it so. Upon which putting in his hand he turned the bones, and found upon the shoulder blades a crucifix richly adorned and enamelled, and a gold chain of twenty inches long, with pieces of linen and gold-coloured silk; the head was solid and firm, the upper and lower jaws full of teeth, and a list of gold round the temples, and much dust in the coffin: this cross he presented to the king, who he says thereupon ordered the coffin to be enclosed in a new one two inches thick, and cramped with iron wedges."

The crucifix would appear, from the description of it by Keepe, to have been one of the jewels mentioned in the Chronicle of the Grey Friars as given by Queen Mary. The present state of the shrine will better be learnt from the description of Mr. Scott, to whom we all owe so much for the elucidation of the history of the principal public building in England. No one would wish to see the shrine and regal monuments restored, but at the same time there could be little objection to removing the plaster put on by Fakenham, so as to enable us to read the original inscription, and to find out the form of the original cornice.

PAT. ROLL, 51 HEN. III., M. 20 DORSO.

(*The preamble.*)

Rex omnibus, etc., salutem. Cum aurum et lapides preciosos et jocalia deputata, casse sive feretro, in quo corpus beatissimi Edwardi Regis disposuimus collocari, et quædam alia preciosa monasterii nostri Westm' pro nostris et regni nostri imminentibus necessitatibus acceperimus; quorum partem jam vendidimus, partem obligavimus, et alia intendimus pro eisdem necessitatibus obligare: quæ omnia abbati predicti monasterii restituere infra annum a festo sancti Michaelis proximo computando promissimus bona fide nos ad hoc heredes nostros et bona nostra specialiter obligando. Et ut de numero et quantitate ac valore et estimacione dictarum rerum certitudo plenior habeatur res ipsas numerum quantitatem valorem et estimationem ipsarum prout res ipsæ per fideles nostros estimatæ sunt presenti scripto fecimus annotari. * * * * * Una ymago beati Edmundi Regis cum corona, et ij. grossis saphiris, et j. balesio sito in corona et ij. prasinis^d et alijs minutis lapidibus ponderis vj.

^d *Prasinis*, root of emerald (?), or perhaps bloodstone.

marcarum x^s vj^d precij quatuor viginti et sex librarum. I. imago aurea unius Regis cum balesio in pectore et alijs lapidibus minutis ponderis v. marcarum ij^s vj^d precij xl. et viij. librarum. Una imago unius Regis tenentis in manu dextra florem cum saphiro smaragdinibus in medio coronæ et magna granata in pectore perlis et alijs minutis lapidibus tam in corona quam in corpore ponderis v. marcarum precij lvj. librarum iiij. sol et iiij. den. I. imago unius Regis cum granata in pectore aurea cum smaragdinibus granatis et alijs minutis lapidibus ponderis v. marcarum v^s x. den. precij lij. lib. I. imago Regis aurea cum saphiris in pectore et smaragdinibus et bales^s in medio coronæ et saphiris et granatis in corona et circa corpus ponderis v. marcarum ix. sol et viij^d precij lix^u vi^s et viij. den. Quinque angeli aurei ponderis trium marcarum iiij. sol. precij triginta librarum. I. imago beatæ Mariæ cum filio coronata per circuitum tam in coronis quam in alijs membris cum rubettis smaragdinibus saphiris et granatis ponderis vij. marcarum xvj. den. precij cc. libr^s. Una imago unius regis aurea tenentis feretrum in manu sua per circuitum bales^s saphiris pulcris et in corona cum rubettis et esmall^s ponderis v. marcarum v. sol ij. den. precij c. et iiij. libr. Item imago unius regis tenentis chamahutum^s cum ij. capitibus in una manu in alia septrum cum bales^s prasinis et perlis per circuitum ponderis vij. marcarum x. solid et x. den. precij c. libr. Una imago Sancti Petri tenentis in una manu ecclesiam, in alia claves, et calcantis Neronem cum saphiro grosso in pectore et in circuitu cum prasinis perlis et saphiris ponderis ix. marcarum et iiij^s precij c. libr. Una magestas aurea in capsâ lignea cum pulcherrima smaragdine in pectore per circuitum cum smaragdinibus et perlis in corona cum chamahuto prasinis et saphiris per circuitum ponderis x. marcarum vij^s vj. den. precij cc. libr. Aurum in liciis (?) cum chamahuto ponderis viij. marcarum viij^s et iiij. den. precij c. et xij^u. Unus saphirus pulcherrimus ponderis xlij. den. precij c. marcarum. Item alius saphirus precij x. marcarum. Item unus saphirus precij v. marcarum. Item vj. saphiri precij x. librarum. Item viij. chamahuta in capsis aureis cum smaragdinibus per circuitum ponderis iiij^s. vj. den. precij xx^u. Unum par bacinorum auri ponderis xlvi^s precij triginta et quatuor marcarum. Una cuppa clara ponderis vij. marcarum precij centum solidorum. Duæ cuppæ veteres ponderis vj. marcarum x^s precij tanti. Unum magnum chamahutum in capsâ aurea cum cathena aurea precij cc. libr. Item unum chamahutum cum capite sine capsâ precij octo viginti libr^s.—Testificantur per dilectos et fideles nostros magistrum Thomam de Wymondham, Thesaurarium nostrum in Anglia, Nicholaum de Lenkenor, Thesaurarium Garderobæ nostræ et Petrum de Wyntonia clericum ejusdem garderobæ. In cujus rei testimonium presens scriptum sigillo nostro et reverendi patris domini O., sancti Adriani Diaconi Cardinalis apostolicæ sedis Legati duximus roborandum. Apud Stratford primo die Junij.

* *Chamahutum*, 'a cameo.'

THE TOMBS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.^a

CHURCHES may be said in one respect to resemble individuals, inasmuch as some are much more lucky than others. Thus in France, Amiens and Chartres are both fortunate churches, for they have suffered comparatively little from either the ravages of time or the fury of revolutions. In our own country the pre-eminently lucky church is Westminster, and it may be questioned whether any other sacred edifice in Europe can shew us such a complete series of monuments so well preserved and so little touched by the destroying hand of the restorer. Most fortunately, none of the tombs at Westminster have undergone the hazardous process of restoration, and it must be the wish of every lover of the fine arts that it may never be attempted. At the same time, there is really no reason why the gilded bronze effigies, which from the nature of their material have their details as perfect as when they were sent out of the workshop, should not have their surfaces cleansed of the thick coating of dust and oxydation which has gradually accumulated; but it is most fervently to be hoped that the time may never come when we shall add new hands and new noses to those constructed in more fragile materials, and thus destroy their value as landmarks in the progress of art.

St. Denis once had a collection of tombs which quite rivalled Westminster; but, unfortunately, revolutions appear to be like certain diseases, the longer they are delayed the worse they are, and so one fine day the mob of Paris went to the church, broke open the tombs, disinterred the bodies, and committed atrocities too horrible to mention. The consequence is that the series of effigies at St. Denis is reduced to a number of effigies detached from their tombs, and still worse, restored under the auspices

^a By W. Burges, Esq.

of Louis Philippe. Westminster, on the contrary, was much more fortunate during our Civil War. London and Westminster always held with the Parliament, and there was therefore no ill feeling to be aroused as in the case of Lichfield, where the cathedral had to stand a regular siege. It is very true that sundry soldiers were quartered in the church, and misbehaved themselves, as soldiers are exceedingly apt to do when quartered in such places; and it is also very true that they broke up the organ, dined on the Communion-table, and, dressed in surplices, ran after one another as hounds and hare; still the present state of the monuments is quite sufficient to shew that they could have done comparatively but little injury. We must also remember that the Great Rebellion was not directed against the aristocracy as a body, but rather against the regal prerogatives and the State religion, and that no inconsiderable number of the nobility and gentry belonged to the Parliamentary party, and were not likely to allow the tombs of their ancestors and connections to be wantonly injured.

The earliest monuments in Westminster Abbey are the three battered and almost obliterated effigies to be found at the east end of the south walk of the cloisters; where both Flete and Sporley tell us that most of the abbots were buried. Doubtless some of the tombs may have disappeared during the rebuilding of this part of the edifice in Litlington's time, but in all probability the destruction of the major part must be referred to later periods, for it is only in comparatively late years that these three effigies have been placed in a position to secure them from further injury. As it is, so much have they suffered that they are quite valueless as works of art. The first one, attributed to Vitalis, 1032, is a mere block of stone with a raised effigy in low relief, and we can just distinguish that a pastoral staff was held across the body. The next in order is inscribed with the name of "Gislebertus Crispinus:" here the figure is in low relief, the ground being sunk in the stone; i.e. it is a representation of the body in the coffin. In one hand there is a book or cup, and the other grasps a pastoral staff of which the crook points outwards—thus by no means supporting the common belief that an abbot has always

the crook of his staff pointing inwards as his rule only extends to his own house, whereas the bishop bears the crook outward because he is entrusted with the care of a diocese. The third effigy is simply a shapeless mass of stone; the name "Laurentius" being cut on it. Now it must be observed that all these inscriptions are quite modern, and that we have nothing whatever to guide us in attributing these effigies to any particular abbots of Westminster. As they are in a very damaged state, having only of late years been rescued from the feet of the Westminster scholars who used to play in the cloisters, it would be simply waste of time to say anything more about them.

Doubtless in the interval between the two rebuildings of the church by Edward the Confessor and Henry III. there must have been numerous interments, and consequently a nearly corresponding number of tombs, but not one of them is to be found in the new building. The fact is, that architects and workmen in those days were just as careless as architects and workmen of the present day, and if we wanted any remains of the early tombs we should have to seek for them in the walls and foundations of the present building. There are numerous instances of this practice, and the complete disappearance of all monumental remains at Westminster of the Norman and Transition periods may in all probability be referred to this cause. However, no sooner was the new choir completed than numerous interments began to take place. The first of these in order of date is—

CATHARINE, DAUGHTER OF HENRY III., OB. 1257.

South Ambulatory.

Concerning this princess, who died at the age of five years, Matthew Paris tells us that she was dumb and fit for nothing (*inutilis*), but very beautiful; adding, moreover, that the queen was so afflicted at her loss that she fell dangerously ill, and could obtain no relief either from medical skill or human consolation; and a little farther on we are informed that the king also fell ill on account of the successes of the Welsh, as well as of grief at the illness of the queen and the loss of his daughter. Altogether, there is something so very pathetic about the whole

story that it is almost a wonder that none of our poets have made use of it. We all know that wondrous and powerful poem of Browning's, about the Cardinal giving orders to his sons about his tomb in St. Prassede, at Rome: here is surely a subject noways inferior to it. Moreover, we find accounts in the last year of the king's reign concerning two statues, one of brass and the other of silver, to be placed upon her tomb. In all probability the silver image represented St. Catharine, while the bronze one might be a kneeling figure of the princess^b. It could not have been an effigy, as the top of the table of the tomb is occupied with mosaic. The tomb is thus formed. Between the chapels of St. Benedict and St. Edmund there occurs a considerable blank space. There is not room enough for two arches of the arcade, which runs all round the building, and there is too much for one. The matter was compromised by making only one arch, but it is much wider than ordinary. At some distance below the springing occurs another arch, but segmental, and forming a recess, in which is placed the tomb. Thus we have, 1. The tomb, which very likely was made out of the remains of the mosaics brought from Rome by Ware for St. Edward's shrine. The design is very simple, but it has suffered greatly from most of the precious marbles and mosaics having been taken away. The top, however, is tolerably perfect. The

^b Master Simon of Wells was paid five marks and a half for his expenses in going to London for a certain brass image to set on her tomb. Gough, Sep. Mon., refers us to Rymer, but the reference is wrong. As to the silver image, see the original document printed in the present work at the end of the account of the Retabulum. (Rot. Canc. 56 Hen. III.) Gough goes on to say that the king had a competition of artists for the statue, but gives no authority at all for this statement. Perhaps the occurrence of two statues may be explained by supposing that the king was not satisfied with the bronze one, and ordered a silver one as more costly. The traces of irons on either side of the arcade may be the remains of iron stanchions to hold lights, or of a protecting grille.

The following entry refers to the first arrangement of the tomb, before the present mosaic monument was erected:—"43 Hen. III. Pay from our treasury to Alberic de Fécamp and Peter de Winchester 500 marks for a cloth with pearls, for a reading-desk, to be placed at the front of the altar and tomb of Catharine our daughter, and for certain tables which we have caused to be placed at the altar of the Blessed Mary at Westminster." See Devon's Introduction to the "Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, 44 Edw. III."

material is Purbeck. 2. The space at the back of the recess between the top of the tomb and the segmental arch. This was painted with four kneeling figures, probably representing the Princess Catharine and her brothers Richard, John, and Henry, all of whom died young. In Dart's view of the tomb the four figures are represented as being tolerably distinct, but at the present day nothing is to be made out beyond the fact that the surface has been painted. 3. The space between the segmental arch and the trefoiled arch of the arcade. This also, we are told by old authors, has been painted with the representation of the interior of a church; but perhaps it was simply a painted niche or border round the silver statue of St. Catharine, which was fixed in the middle of this space. At present the two pillars of the niche are tolerably distinct.

The whole of the stone arcade and segmental arch was elaborately coloured and gilt. From the circumstance of the employment of mosaic, and from the silver statue not being put up until the last year of Henry's reign, it is not improbable but that the date of at least those parts of the tomb would be in that year, and not in 1257, the year of the death of the princess.

The next tomb in point of date would be the shrine of the Confessor, but that has already been made the subject of a separate notice.

HENRY III., OB. 1272.

Confessor's Chapel.

If we judge by the date, Henry the Third's own tomb would follow that of his daughter, but we know that it was not completed until 1291, and there are very strong reasons for believing that a translation of the body took place from another tomb, which Wikes tells us was the old one where St. Edward the Confessor was originally interred. Matthew of Westminster, a contemporary, also says that "*coram magno altare dignam meruit sepulchram*;" and in the letter of the nobles to Edward I., then in the Holy Land, they inform him that his father was buried "*ante magnum altare*." Again, there is a very curious notice given by Walsingham, both in his *Hist. Ang.* and in his *Hypo-*

* *Fædera*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 497.

digma, under the year 1281, which runs thus:—"In this year Edward caused the tomb of his father at Westminster to be greatly honoured with precious stones of jasper, which he had brought with him 'de partibus Gallicanis.'" It is very true that Walsingham finished his History in 1422, and therefore cannot be a first-hand authority for what happened in 1281; but this is a fact which he was not likely to invent, and doubtless copied from some older historian. Also, in 1290, Master Henry of Lewes is paid for iron-work to the tomb^d; and in the year after we find Master William Torel employed on a bronze statue of a king at the same time that he was working at the three statues of Queen Eleanor for her three tombs. There can be but little doubt that the statues of Eleanor and of Henry are by the same hand, and from all these circumstances we may be pretty well certain that Henry was buried first of all before the high altar, that sometime before 1280 a fresh supply of mosaics and porphyry had been obtained from Italy, and that the work went slowly on until it was completed by Torel's bronze figure in 1291^e. An-



other very curious circumstance is, that the accounts of the executors of Queen Eleanor, whence we learn so much about Torel, do not state that Torel made a statue of Henry III., but of a king^f. Now when we examine the statue under consideration, we shall find it simply to be a thirteenth-century ideal statue of a king, certainly not a portrait effigy like those of Edward III. and Richard II., for it is absolutely free from the defect in the eyelid mentioned by Matthew Paris, and represents a much younger man than the

^d Comp. Gard. 18 Edw. I.

^e It is not improbable that the translation of the body took place in 1291, as the Abbess of Fontevraud had then the heart of the king delivered to her, it having been left to that abbey in his will.

^f The following entry completely clears up all doubt as to Torel being the artist who made Henry's effigy:—

"EXITUS PASC', 19 EDW. I. (1291).

"Willielmo Torel factori imaginis de cupro ad similitudinem Regis Henrici patris Regis nunc x^{li}. super facturam ejusdem imaginis."

king was at the time of his death. We shall also see the same peculiarities in the statue of Queen Eleanor. The tomb itself deserves notice as being double, and indeed viewed from the ambulatory it appears triple, for first of all there is the panel in the wall which makes up the difference of level between St. Edward's Chapel and the surrounding aisle. This panel was doubtless once painted, like that below Queen Eleanor's tomb. It is also to be observed that the two steps below the panel jut out in a very singular manner, and quite unlike any of the other steps in the ambulatory. Above this panel is the first mosaic tomb, presenting nothing particular towards the aisle, but on the chapel side having three small recesses. These are generally said to have been aumbries for the vestments used at the shrine; it is far more probable, however, that they contained rich reliquaries, for had they been aumbries there would have been doors, but there are none, and no possibility of putting any. Again, they are decorated with mosaic at the back; and thirdly, in the pavement below and at the top of the cornice above there are traces of holes for the insertion of the iron uprights of a metal grille.

Above is the second mosaic tomb, remarkable for a large slab of porphyry inserted on either side. The mouldings and details of these two tombs are exceedingly like those of the shrine, and betray the work of an Italian architect; occasionally, however, the "*civis Romanus*," whoever he may have been, has allowed himself to be influenced by the Northern architecture around him; but such instances are very rare and very unimportant, such as a small Early English trefoil leaf on one of the capitals. The reason for this double tomb was probably that it was considered inexpedient to place the body so near the reliques of the lower tomb, and therefore the upper one was constructed to receive it. Above all is Torel's effigy of the king, a work of which it is almost impossible to speak too highly: it has been gilt, like most of the bronzes of the Middle Ages, and the ground of the slab is powdered with engraved little leopards in lozenges. The effigy itself is probably merely a representation of the wax figure on the bier at the funeral, for the back is sunk into the ground. The head also does not much depress

the upper pillow, and for this reason the back of the crown is bent flat. The face is purely conventional, and such as we shall see in nearly every effigy of the period. The hair has a small tuft in front, and then hangs down in a wave on either side of the face, and finishes in a roll a little below the ears. The eyes have the lower eyelid very nearly straight; the nose is slightly aquiline; the forehead high; and the lines of the mouth go down: there is a very slight moustache, and a small curling beard. The hands are very good, but not cast from the life, like those of Torrigiani's effigy of the Countess of Richmond; on the contrary, Torel knew exactly where to stop in imitating nature. The borders of the various garments, as well as the crown, are pierced with holes, probably for the attachment of jewels or borders. A sceptre was placed in each hand, and there was a canopy at the head and two lions at the feet, all of which are now gone. Above the statue, and to secure it

† HENRICUS REX

ADIS REX

ANGLIE

Part of Inscription on the Tomb of Henry III.

from the falling dust, is a wooden coopertorium, evidently of a later date than the tomb, but still retaining traces of having been painted. The last thing to be noticed is a small trefoil niche, five inches high and an inch and a half deep, cut in the Purbeck shaft of the pillar, close to the head of the effigy. It may have contained some relique or writing, covered with a piece of glass.

Towards the eastern end of the Confessor's Chapel is a slab of Purbeck, very much worn down, but still retaining traces of the matrices of two brass shields. It stops abruptly at the step

forming the entrance to the chapel of Henry V. We owe it to Mr. Scott that a portion of this step has been made moveable, and thus the uninjured part of the monument exposed to view. It appears to have been a Purbeck slab, inlaid with a brass cross, and with brass letters round the edge. The field, as the heralds would call it, was occupied with glass mosaic; of course a fillet of Purbeck separated the mosaic from the brass, &c. Mr. Scott is inclined to think this monument commemorates the infant son of William de Valence^s; but if it be allowed to hazard a conjecture, it might just as likely be the monument of Alphonzo, eldest son of Edward I., who died in 1284, aged 12. Matthew of Westminster says that his body was honourably buried in the church of Westminster, near the shrine of St. Edward, where it was placed between his brothers and sisters, who were buried before him in the same place. As it is, four of the letters of the inscription remain on either side. Those on the south are *LAME*, most likely part of the words "pries pur l'ame;" and on the north side *BLEA*.

QUEEN ELEANOR, OB. 1290.

Confessor's Chapel.

It is very seldom that we know the whole history of a tomb so perfectly as of this one; thanks to the liberality of Beriah Botfield, Esq., the whole of the executors' accounts have been published by the Roxburgh Club, and we are thereby enabled to trace its progress step by step. It appears that no less than three tombs were erected to this queen: one in Lincoln Cathedral over her viscera; another in the church of the Blackfriars, at London, over the heart^a; and a third in Westminster Abbey

^s Dart thinks it commemorates Roger de Wendover, who died 1250, but this would be before the introduction of Italian mosaic into England.

^a I have to thank my friend Joseph Burtt, Esq., for the following extract relative to the angel which carried the heart of the queen:—

"EXITUS MICH', 18, 19 EDW. I.

(In the church of the Friars Preachers, London.) "To the same (the Master of the Wardrobe) v. marks paid to John le Convers for making the tomb of the lady the Queen, formerly consort of the King. To the same x. marks paid to Adam, the goldsmith of the said queen, for the work on one angel made to hold the heart of the queen."

over the body. The first was destroyed in the seventeenth century by the Parliamentarians; the second doubtless perished at the dissolution of the monasteries; and the only one that has escaped is that at Westminster: but so beautiful is the effigy, and so valuable an example is it of the beau ideal of the thirteenth century, that of all the tombs in the Abbey this is the last one that could be spared. The lower part of the tomb, towards the ambulatory, is occupied with a panel similar to that at the base of Henry the Third's monument; but in this case a good deal of the painting remains, not sufficient however to enable us to make out the subject. Probably had John Carter applied his strong varnish to this as he did to the base of Edmund Crouchback's tomb, he might have destroyed the original, but at the same time left us an etching of the subject. As it is, the original is too far gone to teach us anything. What we do know from the roll is, that Master Walter of Durham was the painter; and all we learn from the original is that the painting is done on the stone itself without any gesso ground, and that the background is of a green colour, (perhaps blue originally). There are four figures at the easternmost end, in secular costume, one having little buttons down his sleeves; then a long tomb, or table, or shrine occurs; and lastly, more figures, too dilapidated to make out. It is by no means unlikely that it may represent one of the apocryphal miracles of the Virgin, more especially as Dart gives the following account of it:—"There yet appears a sepulchre, at the feet of which are two monks¹, at the head a knight armed, and a woman with a child in her arms." Above is the tomb proper, of Purbeck marble, most likely designed by Torel, for the mouldings are exceedingly small and delicate, and there are a good many crockets and finials,—in fact, it is exactly what a goldsmith might be expected to do. At the same time the coats of arms under the trefoiled panels are capital examples of heraldic drawing, the style being more natural than we find in later times, when heraldry became more of a science than it was in the thirteenth

¹ These are the secular figures. A sketch of the knight and lady, probably the Blessed Virgin, will be found among the Powell collection of drawings in the British Museum.

century. The tombs at Lincoln and Blackfriars must have been much richer than this, as they had brass figures at the sides. On the top of the Purbeck tomb is the *chef-d'œuvre* of William Torel, goldsmith and citizen of London, and who for the honour of our country appears to have nothing whatever to do with the Italian family of Torelli, as the name Torel occurs in documents from the time of the Confessor down to the said William : in fact, the attempts of various art critics to prove that the artist of this beautiful figure was an Italian are perfectly inexplicable ; for if we look at the contemporary Italian work at Pisa and elsewhere, we shall find that the English and French, so far from being behind the Italians in the thirteenth century, were if anything in advance of them. On examining the statue we discover the same conventionalities as we see in that of Henry III. Thus the line of the lower eyelid is straight, the alæ of the nose are small, (the nose in this instance is straight) ; there is not much drawing in the mouth, but the middle line goes down a little at either end ; and the hair flows down the back in very strong wavy lines. Now Eleanor at the time of her death was over forty years of age, and had had several children, it is therefore most improbable that this can be a portrait statue : and to a certain degree we are the gainers ; for however curious it would have been to have seen the real likenesses of Henry III. and of Eleanor, it is still more so to have the ideal beauty of one of the great periods of art handed down to us in enduring brass ; for surely the thirteenth-century artists had just as good a right to have their ideal as the Greeks had. It is very true that eyes with straight lower eyelids are very seldom seen in nature, but still they do occur, and just as often as the Greek facial angle ; and moreover, in conjunction with grey eyes (also the fashionable colour in the Middle Ages) the effect is exceedingly piquant and intelligent. But to return to Eleanor. The effigy rises above the ground exactly in the same manner as that of Henry, i.e. the back is not accounted for, and the back of the head is treated in a similar manner, as is also the crown.



The garments consist of two long dresses, the outer one with short and wide sleeves, and a cloak. In one hand the queen held a sceptre, and in the other the string which fastens the cloak around the neck. In the usual accounts of the tomb she is said to have held a crucifix, now destroyed; but a glance at any of the seals of ladies of the period will shew this to be a very common attitude, and that it is simply the string of the cloak that is grasped, and not a crucifix. The crown and the edges of the garments, as well as the string of the cloak, present us with numerous small holes, shewing that ornaments or borders of some kind have been attached.

As far as can be seen, the casting of the figure has been made in one mould, and must have been rather a difficult one to execute. We know from the roll that 726 pounds of wax were carried from Torel's house to the "*Domum Domini*," (the Palace?) besides sundry other parcels of wax bought at different times. Much of this was doubtless for the purpose of being made into candles, but from the expressions used in the roll some of it must have been used for the effigies, which were executed by what the French call the *cire perdue* process¹. William Sprot and John de Ware furnished the metal, and sundry golden florins for the gilding were bought from the merchants of Lucca. As to Torel, he appears to have been continually receiving small sums. The whole sum paid to him was £113 6s. 8d., which the editor of the roll calculates at about £1,700 of our money; not such very bad pay when we consider that three out of the four statues were probably copies of each other. Master Thomas de Hokyntone, who is doubtless the same person as Thomas le Charpentier, did all the woodwork, such as hoarding, scaffolding, raising the statues to their places; and also the coopertorium, which was

¹ The following account probably relates to the casting. Issue Roll, 17 Edw. I. :— "To Hugh de Kendall 1*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* for erecting a certain — in the burial-place of the Abbot of Westminster, in which the statues of King Henry and Queen Eleanor are being made." See Devon's Introduction to the "Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, 44 Edw. III." In Devon's "Pell Records" the same entry again occurs, but the omitted word is supplied as a "wooden building." The date, 17 Edw. I., is evidently wrong, as the queen was then alive.

painted by Master Walter of Durham. This has disappeared, and been replaced by a Perpendicular one, most probably when Henry the Fifth's Chapel was erected. In the notes on the iron-work will be found a description of the beautiful ferramentum, made and fixed by Master Thomas de Leghtone, and in those on the mosaic pavements an explanation of the sixty shillings paid to William le Pavour.

WILLIAM DE VALENCE, OB. 1296.

St. Edmund's Chapel.

Among the Bodleian MSS. at Oxford is an account of the executors of Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, from which it appears that somewhere about 1276 £40 5s. 6d. were paid to Master John of Limoges for the making and carriage to Rochester of a tomb for the said bishop. The tomb itself has disappeared, but the entry is most valuable as a proof, did we need one, that large works as well as small ones were manufactured and exported from Limoges. The storehouses of St. Denis are said to still contain portions of the enamelled effigies of John of France and his sister Blanche, children of St. Louis, the former being tolerably perfect. These effigies came from the abbey of Royaumont, and drawings of them when in their perfect state will be found in the Gagnières collection, now forming part of the Bodleian Library. Gagnières drew several other enamelled tombs and effigies, one of which, in the abbey of Fontaine Daniel, bears no small resemblance to that of William de Valence. Lobineau, in his *Britany*, has also given plates of one or two elaborate enamelled tombs.

There was also the enamelled monument of Thibaud, Count of Champagne, at Troyes*. But after all, no example of Limoges work has come down to us more perfect than the effigy of William de Valence. It has been but too often the fashion to attribute all champlève enamels to Limoges, whereas there is no doubt but that enamelling was practised in almost every city of Europe. The great distinction between the works at Limoges and other towns was this, that Limoges had many manufactories

* See Arneaud's *Troyes*. Some of the enamels of this tomb are at Troyes, in the possession of the Abbé Coffinet. They are very beautifully and delicately executed.

and exported an immense quantity of work. It thus becomes a question to know whether this effigy of William de Valence is native or Limoges work. I think, however, that the question must be decided in favour of the latter. In the first place, the preceding entry shews us that tombs were made at Limoges and transported into our own country; and in the next, the present effigy betrays distinct traces of foreign costume, in the surcoat being semée with ecussons, and in the shield being placed on the hip—both French peculiarities¹. Again, the artistic execution of the figure is very much worse than would have been the case in England in 1296.

We have seen Torel model the figures of Henry III. and Eleanor in wax, and afterwards cast them in bronze. The present effigy is executed in entirely a different manner. It is first of all carved in oak, and then covered with thin plates of copper engraved, the junctions being for the most part hidden by borders of filigree work set with imitation gems. Some of the plates, such as those forming the ground on which the figure is placed, are entirely covered with *champlevé* enamel, while in other parts these decorations have been executed on separate plates of metal, and then put on, as in the case of the little shields on the surcoat.

The lower tomb, which is of stone, and of native workmanship, presents nothing very remarkable, the sides being occupied with compound quatrefoils containing the arms of England and De Valence alternately. At the angles are some pieces of diaper, so irregularly placed that one is almost inclined to believe that they at one time have done duty somewhere else^m. Upon this same tomb is placed a wooden chest, once covered

¹ See Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, effigy of Comte d'Evreux.

^m These diapers are of two different sizes. The west end of the tomb is quite plain. The screen which now shuts off the chapel from the ambulatory is a Perpendicular one, and it is by no means improbable but that before its erection the tombs of John of Eltham and William de Valence, with some slight additions of grilles, might have done duty instead of a regular screen. We know that the tomb of John of Eltham had a canopy, and it is perhaps not so very improbable but that something of the same kind may have obtained in the case of the tomb under consideration, but having fallen into decay when the present screen was erected, it was taken down.

with gilt and enamelled copper, but of which nearly every morsel has been stripped off. The design was evidently a series of shallow arcades, with enamelled backgrounds and raised figures; the latter must very much have resembled those two exhibited at the Loan Museum by H. Moreland, Esq.^a The arcades were most likely supported by pillars, and on the top of the base of the wooden tomb and in front of each niche was a round enamelled plate, containing the arms of the person occupying that particular arcade. One or two of these roundels still remain. On the top of the wooden tomb is the figure of William de Valence, represented in the military dress of the time. The principal peculiarities consist, 1. in the armour being without any intermixture of plate, although the earlier brasses of Sir John d'Aubernoun, 1277, and Sir Roger de Trumpington, 1289, present us with *genouillières*; 2. the mail gloves are divided into fingers; 3. the surcoat is covered with small shields; and 4. the shield is worn on the hip instead of on the left arm. The differences in the details of the heraldry may possibly be referred to the same cause, although it must be confessed that in the thirteenth century people were hardly so particular about the details as they became at the end of the fifteenth century, when, like other arts in a state of decay, it became a science. Thus the number of bars of the azure and argent in the De Valence coat differs considerably; in the stonework and on the pillow it is a barry of five, on the enamelled ground a barry of eleven, on the *ecussons* a barry of nine, and on the shield a barry of fourteen; the number of martlets on the orle is also different^o. The strips of filigree which occur in sundry parts of the effigy are simply so many expedients to hide the junctions of the sheets of thin metal with which the wooden core is overlaid. The workmanship is also rather coarse when compared with contemporary work, even when due allowance is made for the difficulties of repoussé work. The type of features is also entirely different

^a These two little figures, with their enamelled backgrounds, once belonged to l'Abbé Jourdain, of Amiens. They were said to have come from somewhere in the vicinity.

^o My friend Mr. J. W. Papworth tells me that the number of bars is of no importance.

from that we find in the other contemporary effigies in the Abbey, and this is due not to its being a likeness of William de Valence, (for portrait-effigies hardly came in until the middle of the fourteenth century,) but to a different school of art and to sheer inability to do better. Thus the eyes have no corun-
cula; the lower lid is curved, and the top of the nose sharp and ill drawn; the lips are also very thin. The back of the effigy impenetrates into the table on which it is placed, and the head lies in a similar manner on the pillow.

What portions of enamel have come down to us of this effigy are very beautifully and delicately executed, and shame anything that can be done at the present day. A proof of this might be seen last year at South Kensington, where M. Barbedienne of Paris was the only one who produced anything at all decent in the art. All that time has left us of the enamels of the De Valence tomb are the pillow, the girdle, the guise for the shield, the shield itself, three of the escutcheons on the surcoat, a small piece of the table on which the figure is laid, and one or two of the roundlets charged with arms which were placed at the feet of the mourners round the tomb. On the other hand, we have lost, besides sundry accessories of the figure, nearly the whole of the ground of the table, some thirty-one small figures of mourners made of gilt metal with backgrounds, with enamelled diapers, and the same number of small niches, which doubtless had enamels in the spandrels if not in other parts.

Hitherto the tombs we have considered have been made of foreign materials, and to a certain extent by foreign workmen. Our chronological order now brings us to a series of monuments of which both the materials and workmanship are indigenous.

The beginning of the present century found us working with so many shams, that we had at last begun to think stone and oak valuable for their own sakes, instead of considering them simply as the materials for decoration. Hence a few years ago the proposal to paint either stone or oak was considered a barbarism. Our ancestors, however, went on a very different plan.

In England in the thirteenth century, the numerous quarries of native marble, which now present us with so many varieties

of this valuable material, were unworked; the only exception being the Purbeck marble, which, as everybody knows, is to be found in nearly every large building erected during the Middle Ages. The alabaster can hardly be said to have come into anything like general use until the first half of the fourteenth century. Most monuments were therefore executed in stone, but inasmuch as stone, especially the softer sorts, is exceedingly liable to get broken and dirty, these stone monuments were almost always covered with painting and gilding, not only for the sake of ornament, but for their preservation. The group of tombs which next attracts our notice are all executed in this manner, and, as far as we can ascertain after making allowance for sundry varnishings and restorations, their effect must have been gorgeous in the extreme.

AVELINE, COUNTESS OF LANCASTER, OB. 1273;
EDMUND CROUCHBACK, HER HUSBAND, OB. 1296; AND
AYMER DE VALENCE, OB. 1326.

Choir.

These three tombs occupy the north side of the sacarium, those of Aveline and Aymer de Valence filling up the westernmost bay, while that of Edmund Crouchback takes up the whole of the easternmost. They are all on the same plan, and it is not unlikely that they may have been the work of one artist. The idea was doubtless taken from the hearse and the lights which covered the coffin when the funeral service was performed. Thus, first of all, we see a basement with little figures of the relatives as mourners; on the top of this is the recumbent effigy of the deceased, with angels at the head and an animal at the feet; while over all is a lofty pedimented stone canopy, supported by columns and buttresses rising from the angles of the basement.

The decorative painting was similar to that we have seen on the sedilia, i.e. a coat of gesso was placed over the whole surface, and the projecting parts gilt, as in the mouldings and foliage, or left white and decorated with little lines in red, as in the buttresses; the hollows and receding parts had actual colour, such as red or dark green, but the surfaces of the vaultings were treated as separate pieces of decoration,

sometimes being blue with gold stars, or white with a natural vine-branch. The figure was of course made as much like life as possible, and was thrown up from the surrounding colour and ornament by having the slab on which it rests coloured black. The painting appears to have been executed by the ordinary process of distemper covered by an oleaginous varnish. However, when the sedilia were brought to light sometime after George the Fourth's coronation, these tombs seem to have been touched up as well. Thus all the finials and many of the pinnacles were restored^p, and the whole surface gone over with a thick coating of Japan gold size, the new parts and defective portions of the old painting having previously been neatly painted dull red. The Japan gold size, while it has certainly kept the paint and gesso from falling off, has turned so dark that it is often very difficult to find out what was the original colour.

The polychromy of these tombs has never been published, and it is very much to be desired that something should be done in that direction before it is too late. The natural effect of so much gold as we find used would be monotonous, and in parts very heavy, were not means devised of cutting it up: this was done by stamping a pattern on the wet gesso in the same manner as we have seen done in the sedilia. But about the end of the thirteenth century a new process had come into use for gilding, and this was the employment of Armenian bole, a fat reddish earth. Cennini has left us very particular instructions as to how it is to be applied^q: these are too long to repeat here, but the sum of them is that the bole is ground up with white of egg, and four coats of the mixture passed over that portion of the gesso ground to be gilt; when dry, it is smoothed with a piece of linen, and sometimes burnished, so as to ensure perfect smoothness; the gold is then laid on with white of egg, and finally burnished. He also tells us that sometimes bole is put into the gesso. In the tombs under consideration the coating of bole over the

^p The original state of these monuments can be seen in Neale, and in the second volume of *Monumenta Vetusta*.

^q Mr. Merrifield's translation of Cennini, chap. cxxxi. (London: Lumley, 1844.)

gesso is distinctly to be seen. Another way of decorating a gold moulding was to divide it into a series of rectangular compartments, alternately long and short; the long ones contained coats of arms, and the small ones a gold rose on a black ground. By means of the golden roses and the quantity of gold in the armorial bearings a sufficiency of the metal was left to enable it to count as a gold moulding, but then it contained so much colour as to make it a most agreeable contrast to the others. The outer moulding of the pediments in the tombs of Aveline and her husband are thus treated.

Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, was the daughter of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle, who died in 1260. Being the greatest heiress in the kingdom, Henry III. caused her to be married to his second son Edmund in 1269: she is supposed to have died in 1273, as Edmund married Blanche of Navarre in the succeeding year. Her monument, although the most simple of the three, is perhaps the best as regards the beauty and severity of its architecture. It consists, 1. of a basement containing six figures of mourners in as many niches, the coats of arms which occur in the spandrels being only rendered by painting; 2. A recumbent effigy of the lady. The mantle is so arranged by being tucked under each arm as to give two centres of folds, and greater intricacy is also obtained by making the edges of one garment cut across and yet follow the folds of an under one. At the feet are two dogs biting each other in play, and two angels support the head. Stothard has published a beautiful engraving of this effigy, shewing the original colours; but at present the sculpture is so much defaced that it would be rather a difficult task to trace them. Over all is, 3. a trefoiled cusped arch supporting the pediment: The spandrel between the arch and the pediment is occupied by a trefoil, which in Sir J. Ayloffe's time presented traces of two angels, and part of a sitting figure (perhaps Abraham with the soul) above them^r. The ribs of the vaulting were painted red, and the filling-in left white, with naturally-coloured vine-branches. It is generally believed that this tomb was at one time open to the ambulatory, like the other two, but an ex-

^r See *Monumenta Vetusta*, vol. ii.

amination of the masonry at the back will shew that this could not have been the case; in all probability it had anciently a painting, either of the deceased herself, (as was the case on the tombs of St. Louis's children at Royaumont^s;) or of the Blessed Virgin. The sub-basement on the ambulatory side in Dart's time was occupied by a Perpendicular altar-tomb, which has now disappeared.

Her husband's tomb is the next in order. He was the second son of Henry III., and is distinguished in history by being at one time dignified by the title of King of Sicily, the Pope having offered him that kingdom in 1254, after it had been refused by his uncle Richard. The only result, however, was the emptying of the king's treasury and a heavy crop of debts. He accompanied his brother Edward to the Crusade in 1271, and died at Bayonne in 1296, giving orders that he was not to be buried until his debts had been paid.

This tomb presents the novel feature of a triple canopy, not unlike the one which once covered the tomb of John of Eltham; but in the latter case the space covered by the canopies coincided with the space occupied by the figure; in the Crouchback tomb the central canopy alone covers the figure, and what was placed under the other two remains a matter for conjecture. The tombs represented in the Gagnières collection at Oxford unfortunately give no solution of the question. On the ambulatory side there is the usual rich basement, with its painted plinth, which in this case is not panelled. Fortunately, it occurred to John Carter to draw the latter, which he tells us he was enabled to do by putting a coat of strong varnish over it. The said coating of varnish certainly did no good to the work, for very little of it is to be seen at the present time; but it enabled Carter to publish it in his "Ancient Painting and Sculpture," and to shew us that there were represented ten armed knights, each holding a spear with a banner attached; there were no shields, but seven of the surcoats had been emblazoned. It has been attempted to identify these ten knights with Edward, Edmund, and the four earls and four barons they led with them to the Crusade, but the arms on the surcoats

* See the Gagnières Collection in the Bodleian Library.

do not well agree with the bearings of those who really did go, and so we are left in doubt regarding the personages represented. The tomb itself has ten little figures, crowned, on either side. The heads are rather large in proportion to the height; and the drapery, although well executed, is too complex, like that of the effigy of Aveline. The shields in the spandrels have the gold on a raised ground.

The effigy is exceedingly good. The eyes have the usual drawing, but project, and the lids are heavy. The face is very much decayed, so that very little can be learnt from it. The armour has been left plain by the sculptor, the links of mail being stamped on the gesso. The shield has been attached to the left arm, but is now gone; but the armorial bearings were emblazoned on the surcoat, and the mail gloves are divided into fingers. At the same time none of the body impenetrates into the slab, and everything is accounted for. Two angels support the upper pillow. As regards coloured decoration, this is by far the best-preserved monument of the three: the lower stages of the buttresses are coloured white with red lines, and have imitation tracery and pediments painted on them; the weatherings, however, have been gilt. When we get up higher we find real sculptured tracery, which is coloured red, while the ground is gilt and incised and partially coloured, like portions of the retabulum. All the gold foliage is outlined in black, as we see in the Sainte Chapelle, and the label mould of the pediment is emblazoned with coats of arms. Both in this tomb and in that of Aymer de Valence, old authors tell us of inlays of various-coloured glass in the buttresses and spandrels of the cusping. There is, however, not a single trace of it to be found now-a-days, although I believe I did see small portions of it about fifteen years ago. Neale goes further, and asserts the presence of iridescent mother-of-pearl both in the tombs and in the sedilia, but there he was probably mistaken; nor have I ever found any trace of the employment of this substance (supposed by the Comte de Laborde to be the porcelain of the Middle Ages) in any monument in England or France. In this tomb we note the progress of architectural decoration, as exemplified in the profusion of cusping in the arches; and

in the last tomb of the three we find a still further advance—the arches and cusps have begun to vibrate, the ogee form commences, and all severity is lost.

Aymer de Valence was the son of William de Valence, whose enamelled effigy we have noticed in St. Edmund's Chapel. He was much employed in the Scotch wars of Edward I., but does not appear to have possessed the qualities of a great general. Under Edward II. we find him at Bannockburn, and he was afterwards engaged in the punishment of Gaveston, who had nicknamed him Joseph the Jew, from his tall figure and dark complexion. After sitting in judgment on Humphrey de Bohun, he accompanied Queen Isabella into France, and was there assassinated in 1323.

The sub-basement of this tomb, towards the ambulatory, has not the usual panel, and nothing whatever remains of the decoration. The tomb itself, on either side, has eight little figures of relatives in secular dresses, exceedingly well sculptured; the niches under which they stand have columns instead of buttresses; and the grounds have been painted alternately green and red. The effigy is treated very much in the same manner as that of Crouchback, except that at the head there are two angels, who support the soul, represented as a naked figure enveloped in a mantle. The shield in this case has also disappeared, and the genouillères are of plate, not mail. The trefoil on either side of the pediment, as also on that of Edmund Crouchback, contains the deceased armed at all points, and riding on his war-horse; in this respect resembling the well-known Scaliger tombs at Verona, where the apex of the monument is also occupied by an armed equestrian figure. If Aveline's tomb presents us with the best architecture, that of De Valence appears to me to bear off the palm as regards figure sculpture; it is exceedingly good, and not unlike what a Greek would have done had he lived at the commencement of the fourteenth century.

CHILDREN OF HUMPHREY DE BOHUN, *circa* 1300.

St. John the Baptist.

This is the appellation usually given to a tomb placed on the stone seat at the north side of St. John the Baptist's Chapel,

although there is no very good reason for the name. It has all the appearance of having been moved from some other place, and, if a suggestion be permitted, it may probably be the same tomb which, in Richard the Second's time, was removed from St. Edward's Chapel to make way for his own monument, and for which a charge is made for the repainting. The top and bottom are composed of Purbeck marble, and the stone sides are occupied by a small trefoiled arcade, supported by little columns having caps with natural foliage and octagonal abaci. By a careful inspection we see that it has once been coloured and gilded, the arcades having contained suspended shields on a gold ground. Although built into the wall, there are certain circumstances, such as the arcades at the end being smaller than the others, which would almost lead to the conclusion that this tomb was narrower at the foot than at the head.

SEBERT, 1308.

South Ambulatory.

King Sebert, we are told, was converted to Christianity by the preaching of St. Austin, and having ascended the throne in 600, died in 616, and, together with Ethelgoda his queen, was interred near the high altar of his church at Westminster. His tomb was restored by the Confessor, but on the rebuilding by Henry III., his remains, together with those of his queen, of Hugoline, (the well-known chamberlain of Edward the Confessor,) of Abbot Edwine, and of Sulcardus the historian, were taken up and temporarily deposited in the Chapel of the Pyx. In 1308, however, a tomb was made underneath the sedilia in the space corresponding with the sub-basement of the other monuments in the ambulatory. It consists of a recess with a segmental arch, the mouldings which go round it being coloured and gilt; the soffit has also a trailing vine represented on a white ground. At the eastern end are the remains of a crowned female head wearing the wimple, and at the western is a small wheel, perhaps part of a figure of St. Catharine. The back of the tomb is evidently an insertion of later times, as it consists of Perpendicular tracery, and moreover presents us with the rose en soleil, the badge

of Edward IV. The lower part of the tomb is occupied by a stone coffin, with a black marble top, which, however, does not appear to have been made for the place.

EDWARD I., OB. 1307.

Confessor's Chapel.

Edward I. died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, Cumberland, and we learn from Matthew of Westminster "that he commanded his body not to be buried where it was, but to be carried with the army until all Scotland was finally reduced. But this command could not be effectually fulfilled, therefore his body was conveyed to England, and buried at Westminster in the following year, on the 18th day of October, near St. Edward, at the head of his father's grave."

Nothing can be plainer or more rude than this tomb, and from the occasional entry in the records "*de cera renovanda circum corpus regis Edwardi primi*," it would appear that the outer linen cloth was kept waxed, probably with a view of fulfilling the king's dying injunction at some future time. The entry occurs as late as the reign of Richard II., and the intention was probably laid aside at the change of dynasty.

The old historians of the Abbey shew us a coopertorium over this tomb, and some iron railings at the side of the ambulatory. It is well known that all great shrines had a watcher, whose duty was to watch over the valuables during the night. At Canterbury, St. Alban's, and Oxford, wooden erections remain all on the north side, which were appropriated to the watchers. That at Oxford is over a tomb, and the question arises whether a similar arrangement obtained over the monument of Edward I. at Westminster. Anciently, however, the tomb did not look so rude as at the present day, for it was probably covered with an embroidered pall.

In the third volume of the *Archæologia* will be found the oft-quoted account of the opening of this tomb in 1774. The body

* A good deal of discussion has been bestowed on this entry. The fact of the crown being of different workmanship looks very much as if at some time or other the cerecloth had been renewed.

was found to be contained in a Purbeck marble coffin, and wrapped up in a large waxed linen cloth. The head and face were covered with a sudarium of crimson sarcenet. When the external wrapper was removed, the body was discovered to be clothed in regal vestments. These consisted of a dalmatic of red silk damask, upon which was arranged a stole of white tissue about three inches in breadth, crossed over the breast. This stole was ornamented with quatrefoils of filigree work in metal gilt, each set with five false gems. The intervals between the quatrefoils had bead-work, to imitate pearls; over all was the royal mantle of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a very rich fibula of gilt metal and imitation gems. In his right hand the king held a sceptre 2 ft. 6 in. long, with a cross, and in his left a rod 5 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, the top of which terminated in three sets of oak-leaves in green enamel, surmounted by a dove enamelled white. There was also found a crown, but of very inferior workmanship.

Hitherto we have examined two distinct series of monuments; the one partly of foreign origin, made of Purbeck, and decorated with mosaics; the other, entirely national, the material being stone, painted and gilt. To these succeeds a third, for the most part composed of various descriptions of native marbles, often used in conjunction with gilt bronze or a certain small amount of colour and gilding. Queen Eleanor's tomb may be considered as the first of the series, the next being that of

JOHN OF ELTHAM, EARL OF CORNWALL, OB. 1334.

St. Edmund's Chapel.

He was the second son of Edward II., and died at the age of nineteen at Perth, in Scotland. The funeral, from contemporary accounts, appears to have been celebrated in the most sumptuous manner, the Abbey receiving as much as £100 value for horses and armour presented as offerings. This custom of offering armour was by no means uncommon in the Middle Ages; and among other instances we find it mentioned in the Chartulary of St. Alban's that a certain benefactor left a suit of armour to the abbey. At Chartres, until very lately, a votive suit of armour hung up in the cathedral, and has since been de-

posited in the museum. The date is about the end of the fourteenth century, but from the size it must have been intended for a child. There is also very good reason, from a passage in the *Roman du Petit Jehan de Saintré*, for supposing that it was by no means an uncommon thing to clothe the statue of St. George in real armour.

But to return to the monument of John of Eltham. The base and panelled plinth are of stone; the tomb itself of alabaster, with slabs of black slate half an inch thick forming the grounds of the niches in which are placed the little figures of the mourners. The upper slab is of Purbeck marble, but the armed effigy is made of alabaster, and would appear from Stothard's plate to have had as usual some slight painting and gilding, to shew off the material. The whole was formerly surmounted by an elaborate triple stone canopy, something like that of Edmund Crouchback, but the little buttresses which supported it went down to the ground, and they, as well as the canopy, were doubtless highly coloured and gilt. Somewhere about 1760 this canopy appears to have become rickety, and the Dean and Chapter, frightened at an accident which had happened at the funeral of Lady Elizabeth Percy, where the top of a monument actually had fallen down and killed a man, ordered it to be dismantled^u. Nobody knows what became of the fragments. The effigy is an exceedingly curious and valuable specimen of military costume, displaying nearly the same peculiarities as the brasses of Sir John de Creke and the younger Sir John d'Aubernoun^v. Thus we see that curious garment the cyclas, cut so much shorter in front than behind; then, beneath it, the gambeson; then the coat of mail; and lastly, the haqueton. The sword-handle is also beautifully sculptured, and the shield is a very valuable example of heraldic drawing. Part of the coronet—which, by the way, is surmounted by leaves—has been inserted in metal, and from it hangs a vandyked ornament (probably representing

^u See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iii. p. 745, quoted in Wilson's letter-press to Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*. The same Dean and Chapter had actually consented to pull down the tomb of Aymer de Valence to make way for a monument to General Wolfe.

^v See Boutell's *BRASSES*.

leather*), which according to Stothard has been coloured red. The shoulders are not entirely accounted for, and the slab on which the figure rests slopes upwards towards the middle. The features are rather coarsely rendered.

The little figures of weepers are open to the criticism of being placed in exaggerated attitudes, while the heads and hands are too large; there is, however, a good deal of life and expression in the faces. The figures are all crowned, and are excellent studies of costume.

WILLIAM OF WINDSOR, AND
BLANCHE DE LA TOUR, OB. 1340.

St. Edmund's Chapel.

These children of Edward III. are commemorated by two very small alabaster effigies placed side by side upon a small Purbeck tomb. The inscription, which is gone, was engraved on a strip of brass. The sides of the tomb, which are divided into a series of very long upright trefoiled-headed panels, present us with the first traces of the Perpendicular style, and of the decadence of medieval art. At the bottom of each panel is a quatrefoil surmounted by a moulding, which breaks out into a shallow plinth for a statue, probably of alabaster. These statues have all disappeared, and at present there does not appear any means by which they could be attached to the ground. Another peculiarity is, that the inner edge of the tracery is relieved from the ground. The effigies are very small, being only twenty inches long; and although the children represented died quite young, they are in the full costume of the time, of which they are very good illustrations.

QUEEN PHILIPPA, OB. 1369.

Confessor's Chapel.

This tomb, of Flemish workmanship, is composed of black marble, with effigy, mourners, and tabernacle-work of alabaster, slightly enriched with colour and gilding: thus the foliage has

* The lace which attaches the bascinet to the camail passes through this piece of leather.

been gilt, the coats of arms emblazoned, and gold patterns freely applied to the dresses of the figures. I must refer the reader to Mr. Scott's excellent account of this tomb in an earlier part of the present work. The following documentary evidence has been published in Devon's "Pell Records":—

"ISSUE ROLL, MICHAELMAS, 40 EDW. III.

"*Jan. 20.* To Hawkin (de) Liege, from France, in money paid to him in discharge of 200 marks which the Lord the King commanded to be paid to him for making the tomb of Philippa, Queen of England, the King's consort, by writ of Privy Seal, 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*"

"ISSUE ROLL, EASTER, 50 EDW. III.

"*May 21.* To John Orchard, stonemason of London, in money paid to him by his own hands for making divers images in the likeness of angels for the tomb of Queen Philippa, late Queen of England, within the abbey of St. Peter, Westminster, by writ, 5*l.*"

"*June 28.* To Stephen Haddele, valet of the King's household, in money paid to him by the hands of John Orchard, stonemason, 100*s.*, in discharge of 18*l.* 2*s.*, which the Lord the King commanded to be paid him for divers costs and expenses incurred about the tomb of Queen Philippa, late Queen of England, within the abbey of the blessed Peter at Westminster; for the portage and carriage of certain iron-work from the church of St. Paul's, London, unto the same abbey, 10*s.*; for making eight bars and two plates of iron, together with a battlement around the said iron-work, 62*s.*; also for painting the same iron-work of a red colour, 30*s.*; for six angels of copper placed around the said tomb, 12*l.*; and for two images of alabaster placed upon a small marble tomb for an infant son and daughter of the Queen, 20*s.*: by writ of privy seal, 18*l.* 2*s.*."

"To Henry of Wylughes, the keeper of the old works of the church of St. Paul's, London, in money paid to him by his own hands in payment of 40*l.*, which the Lord the King ordered to be delivered to him for an iron tomb lately existing above the tomb of the Venerable Father Michael, late Bishop of London, without the west porch (*hostium*) of the same church, bought from the same Henry for the King's use for the tomb of Philippa, late Queen of England, within the abbey of the blessed St. Peter at Westminster."

' These are evidently the effigies of William de Windsor and Blanche de la Tour. See p. 169 ante.

Of all this iron-work not a single piece remains at the present time; but if we may judge by the glimpse given of it in Neale's work, it was rather an ordinary affair of plain upright bars.

The effigy is probably the first one in Westminster Abbey which has any claims to be considered a portrait. Some parts, such as the head-dress, have been elaborately coloured and gilt. At the intersections of the net forming the back of the head-attire were placed small glass beads, which appear to have been fixed by means of a metal pin: only one of them remains. The queen holds the string of her mantle in one hand and a sceptre in the other, as in the case of Queen Eleanor. The simple canopy of the former effigy has in the present case developed into a most elaborate composition of buttresses, niches, and pinnacles, and the two columns on either side of the figure which formed part of the canopy have here become a series of small niches enclosing figures. We shall see the same arrangement around the effigies of Edward III. and Richard II.



Gilt metal and coloured pastes were profusely applied to decorate this effigy, as is shewn by the numerous holes. Probably no other tomb has suffered equally with this, and perhaps it is the only one which would bear restoration. Mr. Blore, in his "*Monumental Effigies*," has given an excellent idea of what it anciently was; without, however, restoring the little figures of mourners or the curious curved ornaments at the angles.

ARCHBISHOP LANGHAM, OB. 1376.

Chapel of St. Benedict.

Langham, who held the office of Abbot of Westminster before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal of Præneste, was a great benefactor to the monks, leaving them in his will books, vestments, and silver-gilt vessels, besides a sum of money to help the rebuilding of the nave where his father was buried.

The tomb and effigy are of alabaster, and the bottom and top slabs of Purbeck marble, the latter having remains of an inscription engraved on brass. The alabaster was relieved, in the tomb, by the emblazonment of the coats of arms, which are enclosed in the Perpendicular panel which afterwards became almost universal: it consists of a quatrefoil, with loops in the angles to make out the square. As to the effigy, it is a fair piece of work, but the features are by no means well drawn: and the little angels at the pillow are no better. There is a piece of blue glass inserted in the back of one of the gloves, and traces of similar insertions elsewhere. Gilding was doubtless employed on the effigy.

The iron railing protecting the tomb on the side of the ambulatory is very good, and from Dart's account there appears once to have been a coopertorium, which he describes as being nearly broken away at "the previous coronation."

EDWARD III., OR. 1377.

Confessor's Chapel.

This is one of the richest monuments in the Abbey, being hardly eclipsed by those of Henry III. and Queen Philippa. The material is Purbeck, with gilt metal effigy, statuettes, and coats of arms, the latter emblazoned by means of enamel. According to Froissart, Queen Philippa when dying made this request to Edward among others, viz., "That you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine, and that you lie by my side in the Abbey of Westminster."

The sub-base on the ambulatory side presents the usual perpendicular quatrefoil, each of which was filled in with an enamelled shield. Above, on the sides of the tomb itself, the work becomes more complicated, six niches alternating with five perpendicular panels; the lower part of each niche is occupied by a quatrefoil, which also encloses enamelled arms of the personages represented in the niches. These enamels are evidently English manufacture, for we miss the inner outline which is found in all the Limoges work. The red enamel like sealing-wax, which few of our modern workmen can obtain, is

much more granulated than the other colours. The thickness of the metal varies one-eighth to one-fourth of an inch; the surface is gilt, and those parts where argent is required silvered. The Purbeck is very much decayed, but Mr. Scott's application of shellac and spirits of wine appears to have been successful in stopping the progress of the evil, at least for the time, for it has hardly been done long enough to enable us to pronounce an opinion with any certainty.

The gilt bronze effigy is remarkable as having connected with it the tradition that the features have been cast from a mould taken after death. It is very possible that such may have been the case, as Cennini in his work gives particular directions for taking casts from the life, recommending that rose-water be mixed with the plaster when the patient should happen to be "a person of high rank, such as a lord, a king, a pope, or an emperor*." However this might have been in the present instance, the cast only extended to the features, as the beard and hair are conventionalized, and not in the best manner. The costume consists of the usual mantle and long tunic, with tight sleeves, and the shoes are engraved in imitation of sandals. The pillows, sceptres, and lion at the feet have quite disappeared. At the sides of the effigy, under canopies, are little angels, very flat and wooden in treatment, and at the head is a large canopy, by no means too well designed.



The little brass figures occupying the niches on the south side (those on the north are quite gone) are liable to the same objections as the little angels, viz. of being very stiff. The little figures remaining are Edward the Black Prince, Joan de la Tour,

* Painters in Cennini's days must have followed a very general sort of business, for chapter 161 is headed, "How having painted a human face, to wash off and clean away the colours." The colours were to be tempered with yolk of egg, or "if you desire to make them more brilliant, with oil or with liquid varnish, which is the most powerful of temperas." The next chapter (162) is devoted to dissuading young ladies from using colours or medicated waters to their skin. It is rather difficult to imagine a lady desirous of making a good appearance at a drawing-room securing the services of a R.A.

Lionel Duke of Clarence, Edmund of Langley Duke of York, Mary Duchess of Brittany, and William of Hatfield. The edges of the garments are cut into leaves. Over all is a coopertorium of carved wood, with imitation vaulting, pinnacles, and buttresses, and indeed is the best thing about the monument; for although the materials are very rich, the art has evidently taken a downward course. There would appear to have been a projecting ogee canopy in front of the cusped arches of this coopertorium, in the same manner as in the arcading of the Lady-chapel at Ely, but in the present case there is no connection whatever with the arches behind.

RICHARD II., OB. 1399.

ANNE OF BOHEMIA, OB. 1394.

Confessor's Chapel.

This tomb is simply a copy of that of Edward III., both as to materials and workmanship; the only difference being, that as it has two effigies it is somewhat wider. The little statuettes and the enamelled coats of arms entirely disappeared shortly after the death of Queen Anne, as Dart tells us. We find from the two indentures published in Rymer's *Fœdera*, that it was to be completed in two years from Michaelmas 1395. The first of these informs us that Henry Yevell and Stephen Lote, citizens and masons of London, engaged to make a tomb of fine marble after a model bearing the seal of the Treasurer of England; it was to have recesses on each side for six images, and spaces for escutcheons of copper and brass*. By the other indenture we learn that Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens and coppersmiths of London, were to make two images of metal gilt, one to resemble the king and the other the queen; and that the said figures were to be placed on a metal table, gilt, and ornamented with fretwork of fleurs-de-lis, lions, eagles, and leopards. There was also to be a tabernacle, with "hovels or gabletz" of gilt metal and double jambs, with two lions at the feet of the king, and an eagle and leopard at those of the queen. There

* This seems to have been modified afterwards, as there are recesses for eight figures on either side.

were also to be twelve images of saints in metal gilt at the sides of the tomb, and eight angels on the top round the figures, and certain escutcheons engraved and enamelled.

The marble-work was to cost 250*l.*, besides a gratuity of 20*l.* more if it gave satisfaction. The metal-work cost 400*l.*, making a total of 670*l.*, about 10,000*l.* of our money.

The exact way by which Richard came to his death is one of the most obscure points in English history; and that his contemporaries were no better informed than we are, may be seen from the following account in Froissart:—

“It was not long after this that a true report was current in London of the death of Richard of Bordeaux. I could not learn the particulars of it, nor how it happened, the day I wrote these chronicles. . . . When the funeral car of King Richard had remained in Cheapside two hours it was conducted forward in the same order as before out of the town. The four knights then mounted their horses which were waiting for them, and continued the journey with the body until they came to a village where is a royal mansion called Langley, thirty miles from London. There King Richard was interred. God pardon his sins and have mercy on his soul.”

He was afterwards removed to this tomb by Henry V.^b

The effigies sink into the ground just below the shoulders.



The faces are evidently portraits, and there has been very great care taken with the work; thus there are badges and patterns pounced all over the garments, and the treatment of the hair is exceedingly



good. We now observe a change in the royal costume, the king wearing a sort of tippet to his mantle. These figures, unlike the others we have been considering, are cast in several separate pieces, and the consequence is that the arms, pillows, and several other adjuncts have been stolen.

^b Issue Roll, 1 Hen. V.:—"To John Wyddemer, joiner, 4*l.* for making a 'horse-bere,' a coffin, and other things for the removal of the body of King Richard from Langley." See Devon's "Pell Records."

The coopertorium over the tomb is remarkable as being the only one exhibiting distinct traces of painting. The under part was divided into four rectangles, with figures: the two end ones were each occupied with two angels supporting a shield. Of those in the middle the westernmost one exhibits traces of a Trinity, and the easternmost the coronation of the Virgin; this latter is the best preserved of all. The gesso ground, where not painted on, has been stamped with a raised diaper of little quatrefoils, and the red bole has been used as a preparation for the gold^c.

SIR BERNARD BROCAS, OB. 1400.

St. Edmund's Chapel.

Sir Bernard Brocas was chamberlain to Queen Anne of Bohemia, and was beheaded in 1400 for conspiring against Henry IV. Both the tomb, canopy, and effigy are of stone, and were doubtless anciently coloured and gilt. The tomb, which is recessed in the wall, is covered with a canopy composed of sundry pinnacles and arches, with crocketed pediments. At the sides are two large niches, once containing figures. The whole composition is a very common one, and by no means good; probably the best thing about it is the inscription on brass, which is a very good specimen of black letter, every word being separated by an animal or piece of foliage. The effigy, however, is a very good illustration of the armour of the period, but serious doubts have been entertained as to whether it is not a restoration. The shield shewn in Stothard's engraving, and which has now disappeared, must certainly have been modern. The battlemented edge of the slab, upon which the figure rests, is a very good feature. The bascinet is cut square at the face, the features are coarse,

^c Issue Roll, 19 Richard II. :—"To John Haxey, 20*l*. for painting the coopertorium of the tomb of Anne, late queen of England, and for the removal of a tomb near the tomb of the said queen; also for painting the same tomb when removed, and for painting an image to correspond with another of the king, placed opposite in the choir of the aforesaid church." This image of the king was doubtless the one now preserved in the Jerusalem Chamber.

and the spurs have enormous rowels. At present the effigy is painted white.

HENRY V., OB. 1422.

Confessor's Chapel.

Henry died at Vincennes, and most splendid funeral services were celebrated at Paris, Rouen, Canterbury, and St. Paul's, London. In the account of the iron-work of the Abbey, it has been shewn how this tomb and the chantry above it occupies the site of the altar of reliques. Henry did not displace the latter, but merely shifted it to the chantry above his tomb; the ascent being made by the two richly carved and perforated staircases on either side of the great arch. The under part of the chantry is elaborately groined, and thus affords place for the tomb, which was secured towards the chapel by the iron traceried grille, made by Roger Johnson, and on the ambulatory side by some very stout and plain railings, shewn in Neale's engraving. These precautions were fully warranted by the richness of the effigy, which was of wood overlaid by plates of silver, the head being said to have been solid metal, by which we may perhaps understand that it was a casting, in distinction to the rest of the figure, formed of thin metal beaten down on to the oak, such as we have seen in the tomb of William de Valence. However this may have been, there is very fair evidence for believing that all the silver disappeared at the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII., and nothing now remains but a battered oaken figure deprived of its head; but judging from that, the folds of the drapery must have been rather coarse.

The tomb is of Purbeck, with large wide niches at the sides, probably for groups of alabaster or bronze. At either end there is a flat broad panel, which may perhaps have been painted^d. Between the towers is a thick wooden bar, in the middle a shield, a tilting helmet, and saddle: the latter was originally covered with blue velvet, powdered with gold fleurs-de-lis; the shield had a blue silk damask lining with fleurs-de-lis, and across the middle, on crimson velvet, an escarbuncle.

^d The panelled basement in the ambulatory has had metal shields, probably enamelled.

This latter and the fleurs-de-lis are worked in a yellow silk imitating gold. In the chantry there are sundry recesses for receiving the reliques, and remains of the attachments of flap doors. The outside of this chapel, which is carried on over the ambulatory, is richly adorned with figures under niches, among which are the coronation of the king, and the king on horseback represented twice over.

Upon the whole, the art of this tomb may be considered as an improvement, but it is very far behind the contemporary monument to the queen of Charles Durazzo, in the cathedral of Salerno.

WILLIAM DE COLCHESTER, OB. 1420.

Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

He was abbot of Westminster. The tomb and effigy are in stone, coloured and gilt, but now much decayed. The tomb presents the usual Perpendicular panels, and is in noway remarkable. The engraving in Stothard's work shews the polychromy of the effigy, but which has now almost entirely disappeared. The orphreys of the alb and chasuble and the embroidery of the maniple are raised in gesso previously to being gilt. The features, although much destroyed, appear to have been a portrait, the wrinkles in the corners of the eyelids being very marked. The little angels at the head are well designed, and the drapery resembles very much that in the figures of the tomb of Henry V. Although no inscription remains, there is no doubt about the identity of this monument, for the letters W. C. are sculptured on the mitre and on the pillow.

PHILIPPA, DUCHESS OF YORK, OB. 1431.

Chapel of St. Nicholas.

This lady married three husbands, viz. Lord Fitzwalter, Sir John Golofre, and Edmund Langley, Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III. The tomb and effigy are of stone. The whole was probably coloured at one time, but is now, with the exception of the shields in the usual Perpendicular panels, painted

white. Doubtless some restoration has taken place here, as the pillow on which the head of the effigy rests has a sixteenth-century arabesque pattern carved on it. The figure itself is not well composed, but is curious as shewing the widow's costume. There is no animal at the feet, which are covered by the long drapery. The most interesting feature was the oaken canopy, now destroyed, but shewn in Dart's work; the four supports were independent of the tomb, and carried a cooperatorium, decorated, like that of Edward III., with pinnacles and arches. In this case, however, the under surface was flat instead of groined; and we are further told that it was coloured blue, with gold stars, and contained in the middle a representation of the "Deity and Crucifixion," (perhaps the most Holy Trinity).

LODOWICK ROBSERT, LORD BOURCHIER, OB. 1431,

AND HIS LADY.

Chapel of St. Paul.

Lodowick Robsert, a native of Hainault, was standard-bearer to Henry V., and married Elizabeth, heir to Sir Bartholomew Bourchier; his family appears to have been connected in some manner with that of Chaucer.

This tomb, in an architectural point of view, is one of the most remarkable in the building. First of all, it forms part of the screen which is carried over it; secondly, the difficulty of the double tomb being so much wider than the screen is got over by connecting it on the inside (where the extra width occurs) with the screen by means of flying buttresses; thirdly, lions and eagles are introduced at either end on both sides as supporters of banners, the staves of which are most ingeniously made to form part of the buttresses; fourthly, the banners themselves fill up the angles of the canopy of the tomb; and fifthly, sundry parts of the screen are left plain and unpierced, so as to afford space for painting sundry small coats of arms, with the following inscriptions, now very nearly effaced:—on the top cornice, NON NOBIS DÑE NON NOBIS SED NŦI TUO DA GLORIAM; above the coats of arms which occur immediately beneath the

cornice, and which were supported by gilded angels, L'HONNEUR A DIEU A NOUS MERCI; and over the lower line of shields, LEARN TO DIE TO LIVE EVER. The achievements on the top of the canopy are also well worthy of attention. Unfortunately this tomb has been restored, and the two coped wooden coffin-lids which anciently covered the tomb removed and a neat flat top substituted. I believe this took place when Watts's monument was erected, and when, among other improvements, the beautiful grille was taken down from Queen Eleanor's tomb.

Altogether the family of Lord Bouchier must have got hold of a first-rate architect: it is much to be wished that his name could be found, but not being a royal tomb I am afraid that the chances of doing so are very small indeed.

THE PRINCESS MARGARET OF YORK, OB. 1472.

Confessor's Chapel.

Between the tombs of Edward III. and Richard II. there is a little stone monument with an upper slab of Purbeck, now without any effigy or inscription; it has evidently been moved from some other part of the church, and the historians of the Abbey give us sundry inscriptions which were on the square plate of brass occupying the top and the strip of the same metal which went round the upper moulding. It has originally been placed on some steps, (perhaps in the ambulatory,) as marks of them are seen at the sides.

Margaret, the daughter of Edward IV., died when only eight months old, and we accordingly find the tomb, as in the instance of the children of Edward III., very small indeed. Of course we have no means of judging what was engraved on the square plate of brass. A similar tomb occurs in the same chapel between the tombs of Henry III. and Queen Eleanor: this commemorates

THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, OB. 1495,

Confessor's Chapel.

Daughter of Henry VII., who died at Eltham when only three years old, and had a most splendid funeral. The base and

body of the monument are Purbeck, but the upper slab is of black marble: on it are the metal attachments for the gilt bronze effigy, and at the foot a casement for a brass plate which contained the inscription.

ABBOT FASCET, OB. 1500.

Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

This monument, together with Ruthall's, forms a substitute for a screen to the chapel. The composition consists of the usual Perpendicular tomb and panels, enclosing shields*, the top slab being in Purbeck. Over all is a canopy not unlike a fourpost bedstead closed at the ends. The side towards the ambulatory is grated with iron. The effigy is gone, but on the top is placed a stone coffin, generally attributed to Abbot Milling, (1492,) but Dart tells us that "some say it contains the body of one of the De Bohuns, Earls of Hereford," which from the look of the cross fleury sculptured on the lid is not unlikely. Below the cross, and cutting across the stem, which ends in three steps, is the casement for a small brass inscription. Camden says that Milling was buried in the middle of the chapel, and removed on the erection of the Earl of Exeter's monument.

SIR GILES DAUBIGNY AND LADY, OB. 1507.

St. Paul's Chapel.

Sir Giles was Lord Lieutenant of Calais and Chamberlain to Henry VII. In its original state this monument consisted of a Purbeck tomb, with coloured panels surmounted by two alabaster effigies, decorated, as alabaster effigies usually were, with a little gold and colour. Unfortunately the restorer has painted them all over, perhaps in the last century, and the consequence is that no part of the colouring of the effigies can be depended upon. Apart from this, the costumes are very good illustrations of the fashions of the time, more especially as the knight wears the full insignia of the Garter: the art, however,

* In one of these the chief in the arms of Westminster occupies a good two-thirds of the shield.

is rather coarse. The tomb has twisted columns at the angles, which, however, are quite ornamental, as they support nothing beyond a portion of the moulding of the upper slab. The panels at the sides, which are flat and bad, have had the grounds gilded and the straps of the shields painted.

MARGARET COUNTESS OF RICHMOND, OB. 1509.

Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

This monument is the first one in the church which exhibits the introduction of a foreign style, no less a person than Torrigiani having been employed as the artist. The tomb itself is of black marble, with gilt bronze shields. The effigy and canopy above it are also in gilt bronze. The former is most excellently executed, the features and hands being evidently casts from the life. At the feet there is a hind, resting partly on the long drapery. The lady wears the widow's dress. The canopy is particularly curious, as exhibiting Flamboyant tracery, and a curious enriched moulding, resembling coins or little discs strung together. Round the verge of the upper slab is an inscription by Erasmus, for which we are told he was paid twenty shillings, by no means bad pay when we consider the value of money in those days.

HENRY VII., OB. 1509.

ELIZABETH OF YORK, OB. 1502.

In the notice of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, p. 80, will be found an account of the original tomb mentioned in Henry's will, and which was clearly a Gothic design. This, as we know, was superseded by a Classic one, executed by Torrigiani, and which will bear comparison with any other work of the time, either in Italy or elsewhere. It appears to have been made somewhere about 1512, probably just before his visit to Florence, when he endeavoured to persuade Benvenuto Cellini to come and work for him in England. Cellini, who himself was by no means a pattern of Christian meekness and long-suffering, gives the following description of his brother artist:—

“About this time there came to Florence a sculptor named Piero

Torrigiani, who came from England, where he had been for many years; and since he was a great friend of my master, he came to him every day; and having seen my drawings and work, said to me, 'I am come to Florence to get as many young men as possible, for having to do a great work for my king, I want the help of my Florentines, and as your way of working and drawing is more that of a sculptor than of a goldsmith, and as I have great works in bronze to do, I will make you at the same time rich and perfect in your profession.'

"This man was exceedingly well made, very bold, and had more the air of a soldier than of a sculptor, and with his fierce gestures, his loud voice, and his frowning eyebrows, was enough to frighten any man; and every day he talked of his feats among those beasts of Englishmen."

This was bad enough, but when he proceeded to relate how he disfigured the nose of Michael Angelo for life, Cellini had had quite enough of him, and consequently refused to go to England in such company. Had he consented, the *Vita* would doubtless have been enriched with a most amusing series of chapters about his own feats among "those beasts of Englishmen," and at the same time with some information (which at present is deficient) respecting the progress of art under Henry VIII.

Torrigiani's visit to Florence was in 1518, and the work he had in hand was probably the tomb of Henry the Eighth (never finished) and the high altar of Henry the Seventh's Chapel. The latter was unfortunately destroyed by the Puritans in the Great Rebellion, but judging from the print of it Torrigiani by no means improved his taste by his visit to his native country; on the contrary, he brought back the latest Italian fashion, and the altar was coarse and heavy when compared with the beautiful Renaissance of the monuments of the Countess of Richmond and Henry VII.⁵

The latter work may be described as a tomb of black marble, with gilt bronze effigies and enrichments. There are also one

¹ *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini*, bk. i. chap. 2.

⁵ The end of poor Torrigiani is almost too well known to be repeated. Having a difficulty with a Spanish nobleman about a statue of the Virgin, (for he left England and went to Spain,) he broke up his work, was denounced as a heretic, and starved himself in the prison of the Inquisition.

In his youth we are told that he used to break up the models of his fellow pupils if they were better than his own.

or two bands of white marble inserted in various places, of which the upper one, forming a hollow moulding almost immediately below the effigies, is most remarkable for the extreme beauty of the arabesque ornament. The sides of the tomb are occupied by wreaths of bronze foliage, separated by pilasters of the same metal. Inside each wreath are two little statues, of the most wonderful workmanship. The east and west ends are devoted to heraldic ornaments.

Above are the portrait-effigies, which are also most exceedingly well executed, especially the hands. The draperies have evidently been studied from nature, but are very far from attaining the beauty and simplicity we see in Torel's work. At each corner of the upper slab is seated a child; these formerly held banners, which are now gone.

Both this tomb and that of the Countess of Richmond deserve a great deal more study than has usually been given to them. Had they been placed in France or Italy instead of in England, casts of them and of their details would be in every plaster shop and in every drawing-school.

RUTHALL, BISHOP OF DURHAM, OB. 1524.

Chapel of St. John the Baptist.

The chief point of interest connected with this prelate is the story of his having sent an inventory of all his property to Henry VIII. in mistake for a volume of State papers; the consequence was that he died of chagrin. Shakespeare has used the incident in his play of Henry VIII., but has applied it to Wolsey, and made it one of the causes of his fall. The tomb, which is of freestone and much decayed, is on the same plan as that of Fascet, viz. the four-post bedstead arrangement of canopy, and, like it, forms a substitute for the screen. Dart shews the canopy as perfect; at present, however, it is destroyed. The only parts remaining are the two heraldic achievements, shewing the shield and helmet surmounted by a mitre. They were originally placed in the middle of the canopy. As to the effigy, it is very coarse art, and from the nature of the stone is much decayed.

ABBOT ISLIP, OB. 1532.

Islip's Chapel.

Islip was in his day a great builder. He continued the west façade of the Abbey, and was also concerned in the building of Henry the Seventh's Chapel.

The MS. roll of the ceremonies of his burial in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries^b, has before been referred to as affording us valuable glimpses of the state of the Abbey just before the Reformation. The fourth compartment shews his chapel with the screen removed, so that the tomb is apparent. According to the roll the tomb consisted of a bottom and top slab of black marble, the latter supported by four brass pillars. The print in Dart goes thus far with the MS., but that author tells us that on the lower slab there was formerly an emaciated figure or skeleton in a shroud, the whole made in alabaster. The MS., on the contrary, shews a figure of the abbot in Eucharistic vestments. We learn from the same authority that there were two altars in the lower chapel, one inside the window, and the other at the foot of the effigy, where the Hatton monument now is. On the wall above was a painting of the Crucifixion, and over it another of the Assumption. Over the altar in the window was a sculptured half-figure of our Lord issuing from clouds, and attended by two little angels. This, which still remains, although in a mutilated state, is supposed by Neale to be a portrait of Islip. The MS. also shews us the little figures in the niches, forming the parapet of the upper chapel, over the altar of which was another painting, representing, firstly, the Crucifixion surrounded by the instruments of the Passion; and, secondly, the Last Judgment over it. In this case the lower chapel was probably the chantry, the upper being dedicated to the saint whose chapel was displaced to

^b In the account of the Retabulum, this roll is stated by mistake to be in the Heralds' College. It is divided into five compartments:—1. is a figure of the abbot; 2. Islip is on his death-bed, and visited by his avoutries, or patron saints; 3. is a view of the choir, shewing the *chapelle ardente* over his body; 4. is a view of his chantry and tomb, and 5. is an initial letter with an exterior view of the abbey. In it we see the unfinished west towers, and the commencement of an octagonal *flèche* at the intersection.

make room for Islip's tomb and chantry. It is in this upper chapel that the wax-work and ragged regiment are deposited. Not many years ago it used to form part of the duty of the vergers to shew these, but thanks to the good taste of the Dean and Chapter this is now stopped. Dart gives the following account of them :—

“Over this chapel is the chantry, as I take it, of Islip, to which we ascend by stone steps. In it are two large presses of wainscot, containing the effigies of our princes and other great persons who have been buried here, which were carried in open chariots at their funerals, and laid under hearses in this church. There are many of them, but sadly mangled; some with their faces broke, others broken in sunder, and most of them stripped of their robes, I suppose by the late rebels. I observe the ancientest have escaped best, I suppose by reason their cloaths were too old for booty. There is, as I take it, Edward III. with a large robe once of crimson velvet, but now appears like leather. There is Henry V., but I can't suppose it that carried at his funeral, for that was made of tann'd leather (*cuir bouilli*), but this is of wood, as are all the old ones. The later are of stuff, having the heads only of wood, as Queen Elizabeth, who is entirely stripp'd, and James I. The others are so mangled, I know not what to make of them.”

CHAUCER, OB. 1400.

East end of South Transept.

Although our great mediæval poet died in the first year of the fifteenth century, yet chronologically his tomb must be placed after that of Islip. The original memorial appears to have been a very plain affair, for Dart tells us he was buried before the chapel of St. Benedict :—

“Where is a stone of broad grey marble, as I take it. It was not long since remaining, but was taken up when Mr. Dryden's monument was erected, and sawn to mend the pavement. Upon the corner pillar of St. Bennet's Chapel hung anciently a leaden plate, with his epitaph written by Surigonus, a poet of Milan, printed before his works. This was all the monument Chaucer had till about the year 1555, when Mr. Nicholas Brigham erected this in a convenient place as near his grave as he could, on which was formerly painted his picture in a blank on the north side of the epitaph, but now quite defaced. It

was exactly like the painting of Ocklefe¹, printed before the old edition, and was remaining in Mr. Ashmole's time, who in one of his treatises has given us the monument. . . . On the inside of the tomb were his arms, now gone, but the same are painted over it under the arch of the church wall."

The monument is of Purbeck, but the front of the canopy has been restored². It consists of a tomb, with the usual Perpendicular panels, and is placed in a recess in the wall, which is longer than the tomb. The architecture is very Gothic for the time, and looks more like the end of Henry the Eighth's time than that of Queen Elizabeth. Perhaps it is an old tomb used up¹. The back is divided into three compartments: according to Dart, the middle contained the inscriptions and coats of arms; that to the north had a full-length picture of Chaucer; and that to the south another figure, which might perhaps represent Brigham.

ANNE OF CLEVES, OB. 1557.

Choir.

This is a stone altar-tomb, with two detached pedestals. It occupies the space between the two pillars to the westward of the sedilia, and is only the commencement of a large monument of a similar kind to those of Queen Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots. Sir J. Ayloffe, in the second volume of the *Vetusta Monumenta*, thinks the design and workmanship due to Theodorus Hæveus, who in 1576 constructed a curious column ornamented with sixty sun-dials for Caius College, Cambridge, and who was described in the inscription as "Artifex egregius et inaignis architecturæ professor." The ornaments consist of the arms of Cleves and Juliers, the initials A. C., and sundry representations of skulls, a fashion which began at the end of the

¹ Copies of this portrait are found in one or two MSS. of Ocklefe's book; one of these copies is engraved in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, from the additional MS. in the British Museum.

² The original canopy, which by the way was much decayed, was sold at the sale of Mr. Cottingham's collection.

¹ An examination of the exterior panelling on either side of the canopy supports this view, for the panels end very abruptly, and are different on either side.

fifteenth century and continued almost down to our own days. It obtained its climax in that wretched piece of bad taste the Nightingale monument, which could only have been put up in the age which produced Voltaire: no Greek, no Roman, no medieval artist would ever have thought of anything so ugly and so disgusting.

SIR F. VERE, OB. 1608.

St. John the Evangelist.

Although it does not come within the scope of this work to describe the post-Reformation monuments, yet that to Sir F. Vere is so original and so good that it naturally forms an exception. Like Islip's tomb, it consists of two slabs of black marble, viz. a lower and an upper, but the latter, instead of being supported by pillars, is carried by four of the good knight's companions in arms: both they and the rest of the figures and ornaments are executed in white marble. On the lower slab is a recumbent figure of Sir F. Vere, who by the way was celebrated as a warrior in—

“The spacious times of great Elizabeth.”

His cloak is wrapped around him like a Roman toga, one hand being hidden by it. Above, on the top slab, are the various pieces of armour forming his equipment^m.

The only other modern monument at all deserving of notice is that of the DUC DE MONTPENSIER, the brother of Louis Philippe: but here the figure is represented as asleep, which is surely a mistake, for a church is hardly a place to go to sleep in. The great charm of the old effigies is that they are not asleep, but alive and praying.

It would be easy to make a number of very amusing extracts from the description of the modern tombs given in Neale's work, but the subject is far too serious to be viewed in that light; it is only permitted to hope that some time or other

^m While in this part of the Abbey mention should be made of an incised stone close to the Norris monument; it has evidently been much cut about, but enough remains to shew that it decreased towards the feet, and had a bold trefoiled cross incised.

the various Pagan divinities, and still more objectional allegorical figures, may be obliged to remove from the chief church of Christian England.

THE BRASSES.

An account of the tombs of Westminster Abbey would be incomplete without some notice of the brasses. Owing to the value of the material most of these have been stolen, so that many other churches can shew a better collection; however, sufficient evidence remains to shew that there must have been a very large number of them at Westminster, although we have no reason to believe that any of them were very remarkable.

The following is a list of those which have escaped:—

JOHN OF WALTHAM, Bishop of Salisbury, ob. 1395. (Confessor's Chapel.) He was interred here at the command of Richard II. The composition is a series of niches and figures forming a canopy, within which is the figure. The whole is now much worn and dilapidated.

RICHARD WALDEBY, Archbishop of York, ob. 1397. (St. Edmund's Chapel.) This is the usual composition of the figure within a canopy, while an inscription runs round all. The figure holds a cross in the left hand, the right is raised in the act of blessing.

THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK, Duke of Gloucester, ob. 1397. (Confessor's Chapel.) He was murdered at Calais by command of Richard II., and buried at Pleshy: the body was afterwards removed here. The brass is entirely gone, but by the marks in the stone and the engraving in Dart we are enabled to form a tolerably accurate notion of it. A series of niches and figures run all round. In the space thus enclosed was a figure of the duke, under a niche at the top of which were three other niches, that in the centre containing a representation of the most Holy Trinity, and the side ones the Blessed Virgin and a bishop, (perhaps a mistake of Dart's for St. John).

ELEANOR DE BOHUN, Duchess of Gloucester, ob. 1399. (St. Edmund's Chapel.) After the murder of her husband she re-

tired to Barking Nunnery. The monument consists of a low altar-tomb, the whole of which is inlaid with the usual inscription, canopy, and figures; it is certainly by far the best brass now remaining in the church, and although the features are not particularly well drawn, the draperies are exceedingly well disposed. She wears the wimple and plaited barbe. It is a curious fact that the badge of the swan has been mutilated in every instance. There are also traces of variously coloured resinous compositions filling up the engraved parts.

SIR JOHN HARPEDON, ob. 1457. (Ambulatory.) This brass, according to Dart, was once placed on the top of a tomb raised four feet from the ground, and forming part of the screen of the chapel of St. John the Evangelist: its position is clearly shewn in the plan attached to his work. There is nothing remarkable about it beyond that the armour is the same on both the arms, and that lead or pewter has been employed as argent in the armorial bearings.

SIR HUMPHREY BOURCHIER, ob. 1470. (St. Edmund's Chapel.) He was killed at the battle of Barnet-field, fighting on the Yorkist side. He is also known as the father of Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart. The tomb, of Purbeck with panelled sides, is raised some eighteen inches from the floor. On the top was the figure, (now gone,) surrounded with little coats of arms and shields, the guiges of which form the Bouchier knot. The helmet, crest, and lambrequin still remain, and form a very excellent example of heraldry.

BARON CAREW and LADY MARGARET, his wife, ob. 1470. (St. Nicholas.) This is a plain Purbeck tomb; it has had brass shields inlaid in the sides, and an inscription round the top slab, but they are now all gone.

SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN, ob. 1483. (St. John the Baptist.) A plain Purbeck raised tomb. Small brass scrolls and shields have been inserted in the side and end. It is under an ugly four-centred arch, made at the expense of the thirteenth-century arcade. On the top is the figure in armour, but imperfect at the feet. The features are rather well drawn.

DUDLEY, Bishop of Durham, ob. 1483. (St. Nicholas.) It is not uncommon to find one tomb resembling another during

the Perpendicular period, and accordingly we find the present monument very like that of Sir Bernard Brocas; the only difference being that the present one has had a brass, now gone, instead of an effigy, and that the sides have the usual Perpendicular panels, and brass shields, the latter now destroyed.

ABBOT ESTENEY, ob. 1498. (Ambulatory, north side.) This abbot deserves notice for two reasons; first of all, he was Caxton's patron; and secondly, in his time the obligation for the new abbot to go to Rome was remitted. Dart tells us that this brass was in his time on the top of a raised tomb, forming, with Sir J. Harpedon's monument, part of the screen of the chapel of St. John the Evangelist. It is shewn in the MS. of Islip's funeral before referred to.

The tomb, it appears, has been twice opened, once in 1706, and secondly in 1772. As usual, the body was found dressed in eucharistic vestments, similar to the figure on the brass: the latter is enclosed in a triple-arched canopy, and a label issues from the mouth with the words *EXULTABO IN DEO JHU MEO*: the pastoral staff points outwards. Very similar was the brass of ABBOT KIRTON, 1466, now entirely gone, but represented in Dart as perfect. The feet rested on crowned eagles. Very near where Abbot Esteney's brass is now deposited is a stone entirely despoiled of its metal: we are told that it contained the effigies of Thomas Browne and Humphrey Roberts, monks of the Abbey, who died in 1508.

Sir HUMPHREY STANLEY, ob. 1505. (St. Nicholas.) This brass, which resembles many others of the same period, is engraved in Boutell's "*Monumental Brasses*," p. 78. The armour is curious as shewing the defences for the left shoulder as being different from that of the right; in fact, in the fifteenth century the armourers were always endeavouring to supersede the shield by making the defences of the left arm stronger and larger. Lead is again employed in this instance to express the argent in the coats of arms.

The last brass is that of DR. BILL, ob. 1561, (St. Benedict,) the successor of Fakenham. He is represented in a doctor's gown. There is a good deal of cross-hatching in the drapery,

and the whole work looks rather earlier than the seventeenth century. The tomb is raised 2 ft. 6 in. from the ground.

Among other revivals of medieval arts that of monumental brasses has not been forgotten. In the nave, near the pulpit, is a large figure of ROBERT STEPHENSON, the civil engineer. It is very fairly designed, but unluckily the artist has omitted to place anything at the feet, and the consequence is that the figure looks as if it were swimming, more especially as it is embedded in polished granite instead of Purbeck or black marble. In the Middle Ages he would have had his feet on a model of the horse of iron, which he brought to perfection, and which as much surpasses Cambuscan's "stede of brass" as the architecture of the thirteenth century does that of our own time. The other modern brass represents a modern warrior and his lady in the costume of the first part of the fifteenth century. No one for a moment doubts but that SIR ROBERT WILSON would have been the same brave man whether it had been his lot to fight in a suit of plate armour or in a red coat and epaulettes: but this is decidedly a revival in the wrong direction; we want the spirit, not the letter, in a case like this. No doubt it would require a very clever artist to have arranged the modern costume, but it has been done, and can therefore be done again.

The female costume at the commencement of the present century was not particularly graceful, but there are a series of plates of the fashions of that time drawn by the late T. Uwins, Esq., which are so gracefully arranged as to leave nothing to desire. The small additional expense in securing the services of a thoroughly good artist is hardly worth considering when the work is meant to last for centuries, and, above all, to be placed in Westminster Abbey, the most beautiful building we Englishmen possess.

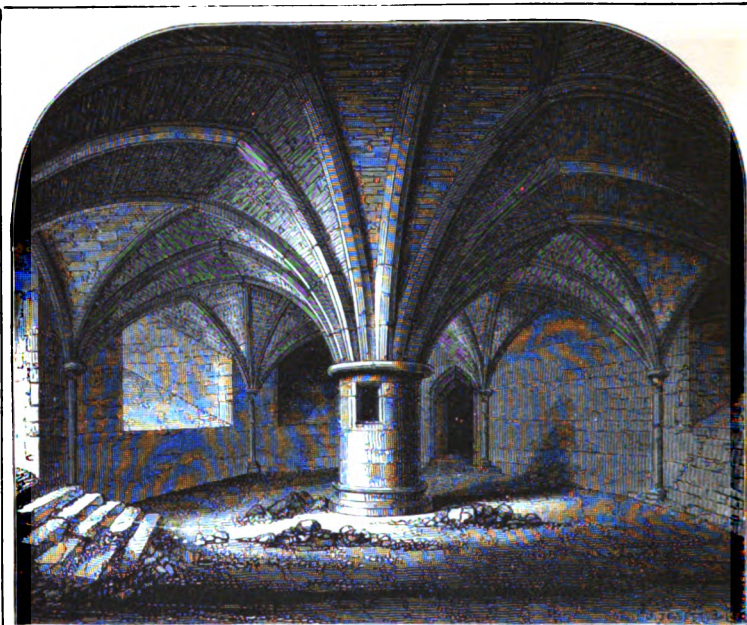
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N.B. Those with the asterisk prefixed are brasses.

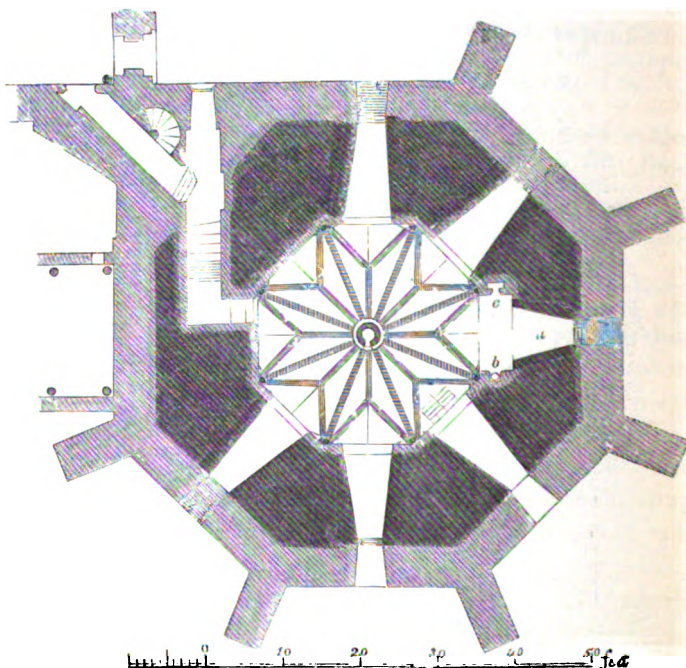
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Crypt of Chapter-house.



Plan of Crypt of Chapter-house.

a Recess for Altar.

b Piscina.

c Ambry.

THE CRYPT.*

THE crypt of Westminster occupies only the space under the chapter-house; there is none under any part of the Abbey. It is approached by a passage leading from the south transept past the end of the old revestry, and which enters the crypt on the west side. It is now in almost total darkness, most of the windows having been blocked up, and light only admitted partially by one or two.

It is octagonal in plan, and had originally windows on six of its sides, the west being occupied by the entrance-door, and the north-west coming opposite the solid masonry of the wall did not admit of a window.

The roof is vaulted, with plain chamfered ribs, which rise from a massive pillar in the centre, and are supported at the angles by slender detached shafts having plain capitals and moulded bases, each standing on a small plinth carried across the angle. The central pillar is very short and strong, being about 6 feet high and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet diameter; it has a moulded base and a plain rounded abacus. The pillar is hollowed out in two places, the lower one with its opening towards the east and the upper towards the south; the spaces are circular and smoothly cut, as are also the sides of the openings, but there are no appearances of there having been doors to them.

The east side of the crypt is occupied by a recess for an altar, having its piscina and locker both remaining, but of quite plain work. In the jambs are also mortice holes, shewing that a screen of some sort had been placed before the altar.

The crypt is of much less dimensions than the chapter-house above, the circumscribing circle of the former having a radius

of about 30 feet, while that of the crypt has only about 15 feet. The external dimensions of each are of course the same, and the difference is occasioned by the enormous thickness of the walls, which are 18 feet. It has been conjectured that the internal part of the walls belongs to the early work commenced in the time of Edward the Confessor, and that the chapter-house being too small for the ideas of the Early English architect, he enlarged it by building his wall on the exterior of the old work; but this can be only conjecture, as there is no part now visible which is of earlier date than the thirteenth century, the whole having been cased at that time.

This supposition, however, receives considerable confirmation from the circumstance that there is a decided break in the masonry at about thirteen feet from the interior, and that the five feet exterior to this are evidently of a later date, as may be seen on the sides of the window openings. It is, however, so blocked up by modern additions that it is not possible to get more conclusive evidence than this.

The whole of the interior is clearly Early English, very plain, as might be expected in such a situation, and not of very early character, as may be seen by the bases both of the centre pillar and the small shafts, and which are similar to, but not identical with, some of those in the north aisle of

the choir. The capital of the central pillar is very plain, being merely a rounded abacus. The capitals of the small shafts have a very plain abacus, merely rounded and under-cut, and have had neck-moulds, now entirely gone, their places being supplied by a ring of lead having a projecting point in the centre.

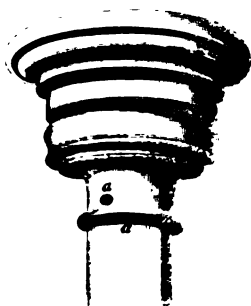
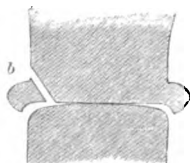


a Lead.

Capital of
Central Pillar.

On investigation it will be found that this leaden collar is the cause of the destruction of the neck-mould, and it will be found too that the capitals in the vestibule of the chapter-house leading out of the cloisters above, are in precisely the same state. The capitals and shafts, which are of Purbeck

marble, have been bedded together by means of lead poured in while in a molten state. The capital and shaft were a little separated, and the lead was poured in by a small opening (^b) drilled through the capital immediately above the neck-mould, and no doubt prevented by a collar of clay from running out until it was cold. In the vestibule the process is very clearly seen, and capitals may be found in all states, some with the neck-mould shewing the lead in its perfect state, some with the stone partly broken away, and some, like those in the crypt,



Capital in the Vestibule of the Chapter-house. *a a* Lead.



The neck-mould partly broken away.
a a Lead.

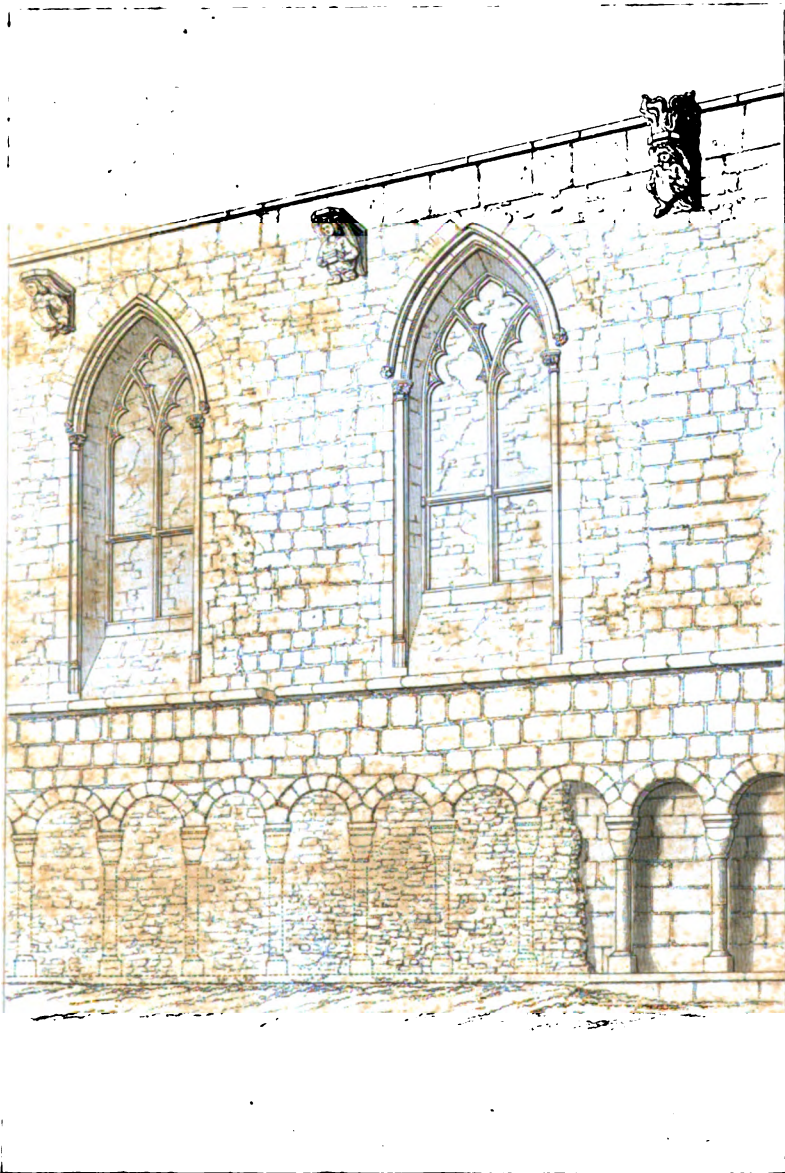


The neck-mould entirely gone away.
a a The ring of lead.

entirely decayed, and leaving nothing but a perfect collar of lead and the projecting knob in the middle where it was poured in.

There is no doubt that the heat of the melted lead, when poured into this calcareous stone, would have the effect of partly calcining it, and rendering it more friable than it otherwise would be; and the alternate expansion and contraction of the metal, small though it be, would in a long series of years be quite sufficient to cause, as we see, the destruction of the moulding; particularly as by the under-cutting for the reception of the lead it was very much weakened at its junction with the bell. The shafts were also fixed in the bases in the same way, but as there is here more solidity, so much damage has not been done.

This mode of fixing may probably account for a good deal of the destruction which has taken place in the Purbeck shafts in many of our most beautiful buildings, and which can scarcely be set down as an item to the "wisdom of our ancestors."



PART OF THE REFECTORY WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE WALL & ARCADE C. 1065—THE WINDOWS C. 1340.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE BUILDINGS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR^a.

It appears from the almost contemporary narrative of the monk Sulcardus that, whatever may have been the size of the original Saxon Abbey occupying the site of the present edifice, the whole church and its adjacent outbuildings were reconstructed anew, on a much larger scale, by the pious munificence of Edward the Confessor. Sulcardus was a monk of Westminster, and by the dedication of his account of the lately erected Abbey to the Abbot Vitalis, may be presumed to have written it in the Conqueror's time—Vitalis dying some years before that prince^b.

The words of this annalist, and others of later date, are as follows:—Sulcardus says, "*Monasterium est dirutum ut surgeret nobilius.*" As to the structure itself, it was "*Diversis fultum columnis ac multiplicibus volutum hinc et inde arcubus.*" William of Malmesbury states that the Confessor "*Ecclesiam ædificationis genere novo fecit;*" which same church, adds Matthew of Westminster, "*a fundamentis construxerat.*" Matthew Paris corroborates this adoption by King Edward of what was then a style unknown in Saxon England; his words are: "*Se-pultus est (Rex Edwardus) Londini in Ecclesiâ quam ipse novo compositionis genere construxerat, a quâ post multi ecclesias construentes exemplum adepti opus illud emulabantur.*"

We may therefore regard these remains of the Abbey of Edward the Confessor as the earliest specimen of the Norman style in England, and as the great exemplar from which the many noble abbeys and cathedrals of the Norman period were subsequently erected; a special interest, therefore, assuredly attaches to these venerable relics, apart from their locality.

The Abbey of the Confessor must have been very nearly, if

^a By the Rev. T. W. Wears, M.A.

^b Widmore, *History of Westminster Abbey.*

not quite, of the same extent as the present Abbey, commenced by Henry III. We can still trace no inconsiderable portion, if not of the Confessor's Abbey-church, yet of the buildings of the monastery adjacent, as has been shewn by Mr. Scott. (See p. 6.)

Proceeding southward from the south transept of Henry the Third's church, the remains of the Norman work of 1060—1066 are first detected in the east cloister. The masonry of the chapel of the Pyx exhibits the wide joints, found everywhere in Normandy in buildings of this century, an indication seldom leading to an erroneous conclusion. The quality of the mortar, and the shaping of the stones by the hand-axe, the marks of which are still visible to the eye, are characteristics which are in distinct contrast to the fine-jointed masonry, and the smoother surface of the stones, implying a better kind of tool, as found in the work of Henry two centuries afterwards. From the chapel of the Pyx, continuing southward, to the archway opening into Little Dean's Yard, the whole substructure is of the same date and character. The chapel of the Pyx itself has been already described, (see p. 9). Though this chapel itself is not accessible to the ordinary visitor, being in charge of the Government officials, yet the same style in all its details is to be seen in the adjacent bays, or compartments, which have lately been cleared out and are now open to inspection. The whole range, numbering about seven bays of vaulting, formed the substructure to the dormitory of Edward's monastery. The east, west, and south walls of Westminster School, which occupies the exact position of this ancient dormitory,—and even in its modern aspect forms one of the noblest rooms in the kingdom,—still exhibit portions of early masonry, into which more recent alterations have been engrafted^c. Rude as they are, these traces are full of interest. Here we behold the first attempt of Norman-Gothic architecture in England! The seed was here sown. A native impulse to improve upon the humbler works of their Saxon forefathers disdained not, with true wisdom, to

^c [There is, however, a difference in the masonry observable above the level of the vault, to be seen in what is now the racquet-court, and it would appear that there was an interval of a few years between the lower part and the upper part of the wall.—ED.]

look abroad, if perchance from thence might be derived ideas taken from existing models of that grander scale of church building which the Saxon monarch had seen in Normandy, but of which as yet there was nothing among his own subjects. It was late in life that the project was adopted, and he did not live to see its full completion by the customary ceremony of consecration ; but the work was carried on with diligence, and finished within a few years^d. Like many other works undertaken in a good cause, the projector lived not to see it finished ; but it may without hesitation be said, that in the renovated abbey and monastery of 1060 King Edward the Confessor left a work behind him destined to bring about mighty changes in his land. The introduction amongst the Saxon native workmen of a model, struck out by the more original and influential mind of their Norman neighbours, became a fulcrum, by which in its time was effected a complete revolution in the thoughts, the genius, and the skill of the native architects of the island, —architects as yet unborn, but soon to arise to carry the Pointed architecture of the Christian Church to its highest standard of perfection.

The substructure of the Confessor's dormitory continues southward beyond the limits of the present school-room, as we have seen, (p. 11) : there seems, however, to be evidence to the eye that some alterations were perhaps here made in the twelfth century. Manifest traces of this latter date are still existing on the eastern side of the Little Cloisters, and here the great advance made within the sixty or seventy years which had elapsed since the Conquest, by the rivalry implanted on English soil with the more finished works in Normandy, is clearly indicated in the diminished^e size and yet greater height of the columns, the character of the capitals, and the mouldings employed in the chapel of St. Catherine, which stood here, (see p. 13). The exact date of the building of this chapel is not

^d " *Festinator opus ex præcepto Regis ceptum, et post paucos annos perfectum.*" —*Sulcardus*.

^e Whewell, *Arch. Notes*, 3rd ed., p. 87.—Tupper, *Prov. Philos.* on "Beauty :"—

"I judge that beauty and sublimity be but the lesser and the great ;
Sublime, as magnified to giants, and beautiful, as diminished into fairies."

known, but it must have been some time before 1162, for in that year the King commanded a synod to be assembled in this chapel to determine a question of privilege between the convent of St. Alban's and the Bishop of Lincoln¹.

Let us now retrace our steps from this farthest point where vestiges of the Norman portion of the abbey buildings still remain, and wend our way again through the dark cloister, and under the barrel-vaulting of the Confessor's age, to the south-eastern angle of the great cloisters. On the eastern wall of this part of the cloisters, it was before observed, the masonry indicates clearly, by the size of the stones employed, and the character of the mortar, and its wide joints, that here a portion of the Norman work was made use of when the eastern cloister was built in Henry the Third's time. The beautiful Early English finished masonry of the thirteenth century is here dovetailed into the more solid walls of the Confessor's date, which were cut away, only where necessary, to admit the additions and alterations of the later date. This custom of turning to account the masonry of an earlier age, where not interfering with the general character of that subsequently inserted, seems to have been more generally in use than at first sight the eye is prepared to expect.

On returning now to the south cloister, and passing westward along its entire length, to the casual observer there are no indications that the solid wall on the left hand is of an earlier date than the vaulting overhead and the side-shafts from which the vaulting-ribs spring. Yet late observation has brought to light the fact that the entire extent of this wall is part of the Confessor's work. Abbot Litlington (of whom we shall presently speak in connection with his additions and alterations at the end of the fourteenth century) here followed this plan,—he cut away the Norman wall where needed, and let his vaulting-shafts into the solid stone-work ready to his hand. We shall presently see the character of this wall, as evidenced by an examination of the other side. Here it may be observed that the arrangements as to ground-plan made by Abbot Litlington about 1380 were simply commensurate with the Norman

¹ Holinshed.

work of the eleventh century, which he replaced by his own. The cloisters of the Confessor were of the same size as those now in existence, and this southern wall, with the sure testimony of its peculiar masonry to be seen throughout its whole length, is a proof of the extent of that earlier work which Litlington but partially removed when he built the south and west cloisters as we behold them now. The realization to the mind, then, of the extensive scale of the ground-plan of the Confessor's abbey, and its appendages, will give some idea of the solemn grandeur and vast proportions of the Norman buildings of that most interesting century, when, escaped from the trammels of their Roman models, and unlike their cousins along the Rhine, the great architects of Rollo's race conceived and executed designs entirely their own, no longer repeating the idea of the Basilica, a ground-plan incapable of much expansion, but adopting the cruciform arrangement of the church itself, and grouping their conventual buildings around on a scale of grandeur till now unknown; a type which, surpassed in beauty and elegance, no doubt, by the daughter style of two centuries after, yet in point of solemn dignity and simple sublimity may challenge comparison with any.

Such an extensive ground-plan covered with buildings connected with his monastery would seem to prove that the numbers of the fraternity of Benedictine monks here assembled under the shade of his great Abbey were considerable. Accordingly we find it stated by William of Malmesbury that the Confessor increased the number, though the exact amount of such increase is not specified. The language employed would, however, imply that sixty or seventy monks must have been then on the establishment. Two centuries later there is precise evidence that the number of the brethren was eighty. But taking the lesser number, the refectory to accommodate even sixty or seventy monks must have been of no ordinary dimensions. And such we find to be the case. Until lately but very scant traces were known to be in existence of the great refectory of the Confessor, though its site was not unknown. A late examination of the south wall of the south cloister, (above spoken of,) and of its southern face, has, however, brought to light the

full extent of this noble hall, erected by the Confessor for his monks. The garden of "Ashburnham House," one of the prebendal residences, is bounded on the north by the south wall of the cloister. The masonry of the lower half of this wall, on the garden or southern face, is of the same character as its northern face, visible on the other side in the cloister. But to place the evidence of the masonry beyond all doubt, a late inspection has led to the detection of an early^s Norman arcade running the entire length of the wall. The upper portions, resting on this lower wall of eleventh-century masonry, are of Decorated character, and most probably the work of Abbot Litlington. The windows with their transoms are indicative of the latter half of the fourteenth century. (See Plate XXX.) But here we have, in the evidence afforded by this arcade, a proof that the extent of the Confessor's refectory was on the same scale as that which, three centuries afterwards, was adopted by the abbot whose alterations in Richard the Second's time have claimed so much attention in all accounts of the fabric of the Abbey. The extent of the hall, for it measured 130 feet long by 38 in breadth, will give some idea of the scale on which this first genuine Norman work erected on English soil was executed, and of the magnificence and grandeur which must have characterized this Abbey and its attendant buildings at a period when such a scale would scarcely have been expected. The general entrance-doorway to this refectory must have been where the present doorway of the later date still remains. There are traces in the south side of this spacious hall which seem to shew that the kitchen, &c., may here, at this south-west angle of the great parallelogram, have been attached to the main apartment. Fragments of Roman tiles, here and there worked into the walls, seem to indicate the very early character of the masonry, and to suggest that possibly, in his expansion of the monastery in 1060, the

^s The stone of these remains of the eleventh century is still undecayed; that of Abbot Litlington's time has perished considerably. A geologist should be able to name the locality whence the former was obtained, with a view to its employment in our public edifices. [It is believed to be Reigate stone, and the upper part of the wall, which is Litlington's work, is of clunch only. It owes its perfect preservation to having been protected from wet by the cloister.—Ep.]

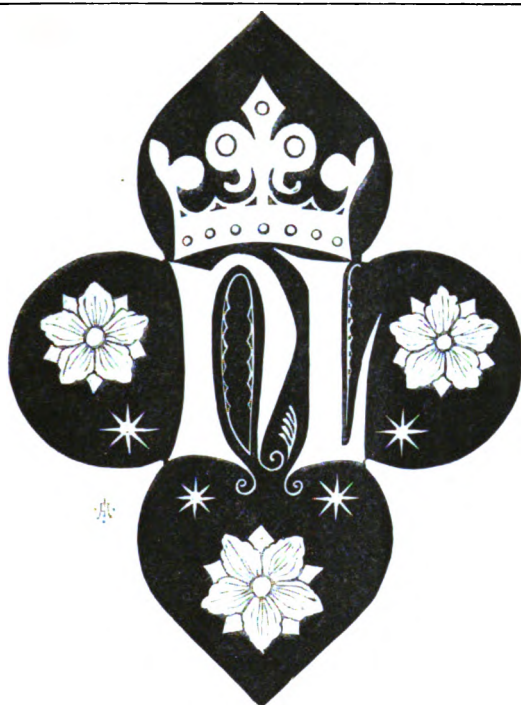
Confessor made use of whatever remains of a still earlier date were capable of being worked up with his own additions. The arcade above spoken of is also here to be traced at the east end, and in the south-west angle, though but for a few yards; sufficient, however, remains to prove the length and the breadth of the refectory erected by King Edward, as given in the above-named dimensions.

With these lately-discovered remains of the Confessor's work the vestiges of the eleventh century cease, the rest of the circumjacent buildings being all of the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and forming part of the great additions or alterations then made by Abbot Litlington, of whom now it is time that we should more particularly speak.

ABBOT LITLINGTON'S WORK.

IN the year 1349 Simon Langham was elected Abbot of Westminster. His name is deserving of special record, not only on account of his subsequently high positions, as Bishop of Ely, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Cardinal, but also for his munificence to the Abbey. His will is given at length in Widmore's History : by it he left the *residue* of his vast property especially to the *fabric* of the monastery :—"Residuum vero dictorum fructuum et omnia alia bona mea quæcunque et qualiacunque, ubicunque reperta fuerint, lego fabricæ monasterii Westmonasterii predicti^b." Langham resigned his abbacy in 1362, on his first promotion to Ely. His death took place in 1376, from which date the moneys bequeathed by him by will would become available. He was succeeded as abbot in 1362 by Nicholas Litlington, whom he subsequently appointed executor of his will. It is not likely that the considerable additions to the fabric, commonly assigned to Abbot Litlington, were commenced by him *before the death* of his friend the Cardinal, whose bequest supplied the *money* for their erection and construction. Again, there is evidence still remaining in the fact that Litlington's *initials* are visible in stone as well as in painted glass, (as will be seen below,) that it was *after* the Cardinal's death, and the receipt of the bequest, that he began the work of decoration. He scarcely would have ventured to claim to *himself*, by the insertion of his own name, the credit of the work due to the munificence of the real donor, his *predecessor* in the abbatial chair, whilst yet that predecessor was alive. We have, therefore, two limits between which the extensive alterations, usually assigned to Abbot Litlington, must have been completed, viz. the death of Cardinal Langham and his own, or, the ten years between 1376 and 1386. These dates are therefore of some importance, as fixing the exact time of the construction of the

^b This residue amounted to 10,800*l.*, an immense sum in those days ; [equal to nearly 200,000*l.* of our money].



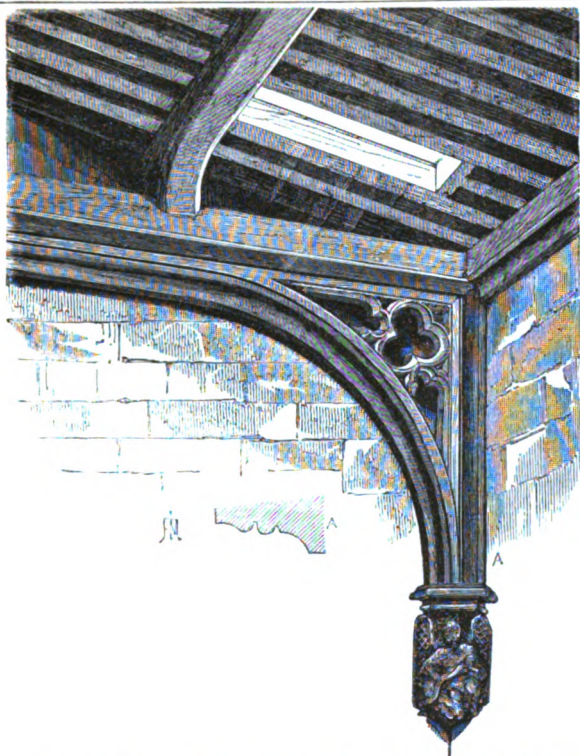
(3.) Initials of Abbot Litlington in the Head of a Window of the Hall, A.D. 1376—1386.



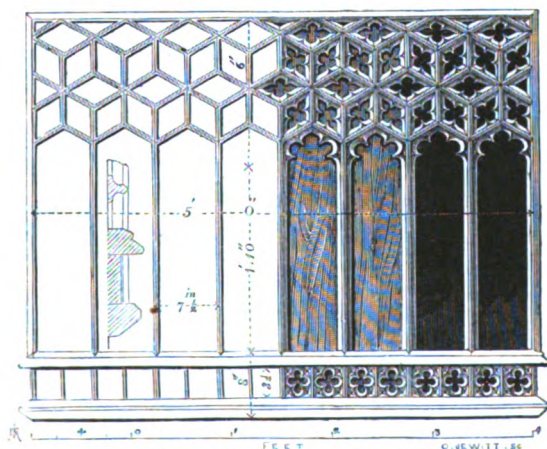
(4.) Part of the old Carved Woodwork, now built in with Modern Work at the end of the Hall.



(5.) Window of the Hall of the Abbot's House, A.D. 1376—1386, now the Scholars' Hall.



(1.) Part of the Roof of the Hall of Abbot Litlington, A.D. 1376-1386.



(5.) Part of the old Screen of the Hall.

west and south walks of the cloister (see Frontispiece), and of the other works, of which we will now take a rapid survey.

Abbot Litlington appears to have executed the trust committed to him with considerable skill and taste. Great changes had already at this time (1376-86) taken place in the Pointed Architecture of the earlier part of the century. The genius of William of Wykeham had conceived a new arrangement for those most important members of a Gothic window of many lights, the mullions and tracery lines; and in the chapel of New College at Oxford, and perhaps also in some portions of Windsor Castle, (the noblest example of his skill,) was exhibited the model from which the Perpendicular style peculiar to England originated. But Litlington did not follow this new idea, though its merits were many, and its beauties not a few, and peculiar to itself. Such a contrast with the character of the earlier work, as seen in the north and east walks of the cloister, would have been harsh and inharmonious. He changed, indeed, with the changes in style then in progress, but he was careful to preserve consistency; and hence it is that although far inferior in beauty of plan and details to the two walks of the cloister of the earlier date, those of 1380 (the western and southern) are yet in good keeping with them, and apart from their proximity to their more successful rivals, may well claim admiration¹. Beside these two walks of the cloister, Litlington seems to have entirely re-edified the abbot's residence, and the conventual buildings, which now form the eastern side of Great Dean's Yard. The College Hall of the Queen's Scholars, of the Elizabethan foundation of an after age, was built by this abbot, for the hall of the abbot's residence. The timbers to support the leaden roof still remain in part as he left them; the braces of the principals (1) at the extreme north and south ends displaying some bold and well-executed trefoil and other tracery, indicative of a style agreeing with this date. [The rest of the roof is of much later date, of Elizabethan character, and was probably a part of the alterations made after the dissolution of the abbey, when the school was founded.]

The windows of the hall are of two lights, and of simple

¹ On the bosses of the vaulting the initials N. L. are still to be traced.

tracery in the heads (2), [the character of which is of the time of the change from the Decorated to the Perpendicular style]. Portions of the painted glass still remain, and the initials (N. L.) of the Abbot are here also to be seen (3). The hall is still interesting, as a representative of its several dates of construction, though its fair proportions are somewhat shorn by the addition at its southern end of a music-gallery, of apparently the Elizabethan era. There are still remnants to be found, here and there, of diaper and carved floral woodwork of the fourteenth century (4 and 5), inserted among the panelling of the later date. Adjoining the hall is still to be seen the ancient kitchen and other outbuildings of this Litlington restoration. [The old fireplaces remain, with their stone arches; in one is the oven, in the other the chimney-corner, partly protected from the fire by a short piece of wall or solid stone screen, and over the seat in the chimney-corner is a window, modern-



(6.) Fireplace in the Kitchen, shewing the Seat in the Chimney-corner and the Window over it, still remaining (1861).

ized indeed, but still evidently in its original place. A window in the chimney is not a very common feature, but it occurs in

several instances in the old cottages in Pembrokeshire; we should hardly expect to find an example of this old arrangement still remaining in the heart of London^k (6).]

The substructure of all the canonical residences running southward from the Deanery, (itself the Abbot's house of old,) displays a range of vaulting of simple and elegant character (7),



(8.) Archway, now forming the Passage from Little Dean's Yard to Great Dean's Yard, part of Abbot Litlington's work, A.D. 1376—1386.

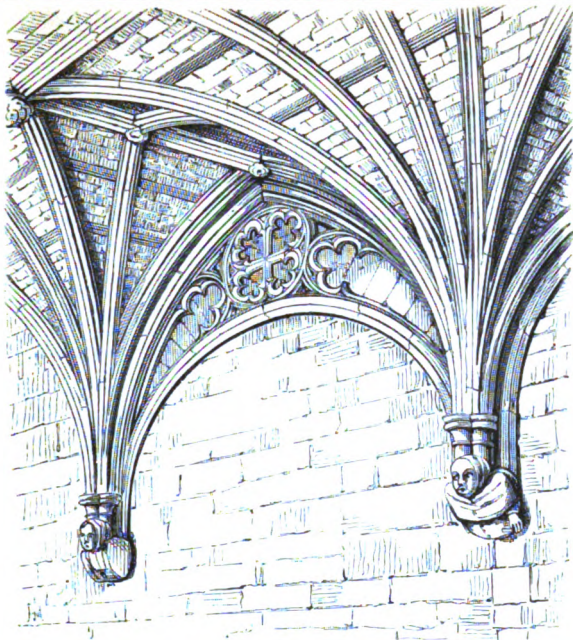
^k [In some old houses in Ireland, where the chimney-stack and fireplace is in the middle of the house, there is a sort of window or opening from the chimney-corner into the porch, so that a person sitting by the fireside could see who came in at the outer door before opening the inner one.—Ed.]

with here and there a window of the period still remaining to testify the character of the whole when complete, before the tasteless alterations of subsequent centuries destroyed the workmanship which they were as unable to appreciate as to imitate. Two archways still remain, in the length of this substructure, connecting Great Dean's Yard with the courts to the eastward of it (8). They are of the style to which their known date would assign them; though perhaps a close consideration of their details (such as the cavetto and double ogee mouldings) would lead to the conclusion that those characteristics, hitherto assigned to the fifteenth century, are here found in one of the earliest examples of their application¹.

The ten years above named seem to have been made the most of, for in addition to the works just spoken of, Abbot Litlington appears to have restored, or extended, the entire circle of conventual outbuildings of less important character than the preceding. According to Widmore, he "built the kitchen, the Jerusalem chamber, the abbot's house, now the deanery," and also the "houses of several officers, as the bailiff's, the cellarer's, the infirmarer's, and the sacrist's; the great malt-house, lately (i.e. in 1751) the dormitory of the King's scholars^m, and the tower adjoining, late the lodgings of the second master; the stone wall of the infirmary garden, now the College Garden,"

¹ [The whole of Abbot Litlington's work is in a style of transition between the Decorated and Perpendicular styles; it is almost impossible to say to which of these received styles the mouldings and details can be referred. As the divisions of the styles of Gothic Architecture are entirely arbitrary, arranged for general convenience, and for the use of beginners in the study, it is perfectly natural that this sort of mixture of the styles should take place for a certain period between each of the great changes. The latter part of the fourteenth century was the period when the Perpendicular style was coming into general use, but was not fully established: as the distinction is less marked than in the similar period between each of the other styles, it has been commonly overlooked, but the same overlapping of styles occurs at this period as in the similar transition between the other styles. This is more marked and prominent between the Norman and the Early English styles, and therefore that is commonly called *the* period of transition, but a similar period exists equally between each of the other styles.—ED.]

^m An engraving is given in the "*Alumni Westmonasteriensis*," edit. 1852, of this dormitory of 1720, and the adjoining tower. The present dormitory on the western side of the college garden is in the Italian style, and was built from the design of the Earl of Burlington about 1722.



(9.) Part of the Vaulting of the Cloisters over the Lavatory, A.D. 1376—1386.



(7.) Part of the Vaulting of the Cellars, A.D. 1376—1386. Digitized by Google

[still remaining,] "the water mill, &c., &c., besides the south and west sides of the Great Cloisters." (9.)

In the passage leading to the Little Cloisters a turreted dwelling-house still remains in fair preservation, which is called by the name of "the Litlington Tower:" whilst on the eastern side of the eleventh century substructure in the dark cloister, and of Westminster School above, there are buildings of apparently the end of the fifteenth century, though with so many details of preceding styles as to lead one to conclude that a work of adaptation was here effected. A small chapel adjoining the residence perhaps would indicate that here the Prior of Westminster had his abode—an officer next in dignity to the abbot. The interest, however, attaching to these later erections is not equal to that called forth by the remains of the earlier ages, to which we have thus endeavoured to draw attention.

T. W. W.

THE COMMISSION TO RICHARD DE WHITTINGTON, &c., TO REBUILD THE NAVE OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

It has long been known, both by history and by the architectural details, that the nave of the abbey church was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, although the general style of the choir of the thirteenth has been so well followed that casual observers are quite unconscious of the change of style. (See woodcut, p. 54.) There is every reason to believe that the old Norman nave was left standing until that time, and we have seen by the accounts that workmen were employed to remove it, preparatory to the construction of the new nave. It has not been generally known that in 1 Henry V., A.D. 1413, a royal commission was issued to Richard Whityngton, and Richard Harowden monk of the abbey, for carrying on the work of rebuilding the nave; which we here reprint from Rymer's "*Fœdera*," vol. ix. p. 78. The Rev. Samuel Lysons, in his recent life of Sir Richard Whityngton, the celebrated Lord Mayor of London, considers this commissioner for rebuilding the nave of the abbey church to be no other than the wealthy merchant himself*: it will be observed that in the account rolls he is called Richard *de* Whittington, whilst the other commissioner is called only Richard Harowden a monk of the abbey.

* Mr. Lysons says,—“So high was the king's opinion of Whittington's good judgment and taste with regard to the improvements in the city, that we find the following entry in the Minutes of the Council at the Tower of London, 27th May, 3rd Henry V. (1415):—‘Item, que le dit Maire ne face rien en la dite cité touchant la demolicion d'aucuns lieu ou murs en la dite cité sans l'avis de Whittington,’ &c. (*Bibl. Cotton. Cleopatra*, F. iii. f. 145, a contemporary manuscript.) Such was the confidence which King Henry V. placed in this illustrious citizen, that he had no person to whom, for sterling integrity, for taste in architecture and zeal for improvement, he could better intrust the repair of that noble fabric, the Abbey Church at Westminster, the nave of which had been burnt down in a former reign, and had remained in ruins for many years.”—*The Model Merchant of the Middle Ages, &c.*, by the Rev. S. Lysons, 8vo., Gloucester, 1862, pp. 59, 60.

At the Meeting of the Archæological Institute at Worcester in 1862, Mr. Lysons exhibited a piece of sculpture of the fifteenth century representing a boy with a cat in his arms. This sculpture formed a part of the decorations of the front of the house of the Whittington family at Gloucester, built or rebuilt by the nephew of the celebrated Lord Mayor, and affords strong evidence that the family acknowledged the truth of the legend of the cat.

Pro Abbate Westmonasterii quo Rex Regalitatis Insignia suscepit.

A.D. 1413.
Anno 1 Hen. V. } Rex omnibus ad quos &c. Sciatis quod de gratia
Pat. 1, Hen. V. } nostra speciali,
p. 4, m. 5. } Et pro salute animæ nostræ et ob reverentiam Dei et
Beati Petri in cujus honore Abbatia Westmonasteriensis dinoscitur
dedicari ac etiam gloriosi Confessoris Regis Edwardi et diversorum
inclitorum Progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Angliæ in Ab-
batia prædicta quiescentium.

Neenon pro eo quod in eadem Abbatia prout placuit Altissimo In-
signia Regalitatis nostræ suscepimus.

Volentes pro constructione et reparatione Navis Abbatiae illius (quæ
a diu Ruinam passa fuit et infecta remanet) cum bonis nobis a Deo
collatis et conferendis quam citius commode poterimus providere.

Concessimus, dilectis nobis in Christo Abbati et conventui Abbatiae
prædictæ, in auxilium Perfectionis et constructionis Navis prædictæ,
Mille marcas percipiendas annuatim quamdiu nobis placuerit, videlicet:—

Quingentas Marcas de Exitibus Hanaperii Cancellariæ nostræ per
manus custodis ejusdem pro tempore existentis.

Et Quingentas marcas de custuma Lanarum, Coriorum et pellium
lanutarum in Portu Civitatis nostræ Londoniæ per manus collectorum
ejusdem custumæ pro tempore existentium.

Ad Terminos Paschæ, Nativitatis S. Johannis Baptistæ, S. Michaelis
et Natalis Domini per æquales portiones.

Et ulterius, pro pleniori et celeriori executione concessionis nostræ
prædictæ prospicere volentes ac de fidelitate et circumspectione dilec-
torum nobis Ricardi Whityngton, et Ricardi Harowden Monachi Ab-
batiae prædictæ, plenius confidentes assignavimus ipsos Ricardum et
Ricardum ad prædictas mille marcas in locis prædictis annuatim ad
terminos prædictos recipiendum, et ad easdem Mille marcas circa Per-
fectionem et Constructionem Navis prædictæ, per supervisum carissimi
consanguinei nostri Edwardi Ducis Eborum et Venerabilis in Christo
patris Henrici Episcopi Wyntoniensis Cancellarii nostri Avunculi
nostri carissimi fideliter expendendum. Ita quod iidem Ricardus et
Ricardus rationabilem compotum de summis per ipsos virtute literarum
nostrarum præsentium recipiendis et circa perfectionem et construc-
tionem Navis prædictæ ut præmittitur expendendis eisdem Duci et

Cancellario quoties et quando ad hoc fuerint debita requisiti reddant et reddere teneantur.

In cujus, &c.

Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium Decimo quarto die Decembris.

Per ipsum Regem.

Some of the accounts of these commissioners have been preserved, and we subjoin extracts from them.

Account of Richard de Whittington, and Richard Harowden monk of the Abbey of the Blessed Peter of Westminster, of their receipts and expences about the construction and repair of the nave of the Abbey, from 7th of July 1 Henry V. to Christmas anno 4, being 3 years, 1 quarter, and 83 days.

Receipts, 1,397*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, in six sums from the Royal Exchequer at various times, and one from the King's own hands.

Purchase, carriage, &c., of stone from Beigate, Stapleton, and Bere; and of rag.

And for 12 bases, 24 pillars, and 24 capitals of marble, with the freightage thereof, and their making in gross, by John Russe and Richard Knappe, in the 3rd year, 16*l.*; viz. for 1 base, 2 capitals, and 2 pillars, 2 marks; and for the above 12 bases, 24 pillars, and 24 capitals of marble, 16*l.*

200 boards called "regold," "waynyschoote," and "estrycheboorde," bought for making moulds thereof, 4*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*

Making of long "staybarres," hoops, crocketts, and divers other iron-work for the works aforesaid.

Lead for one side ^b of the nave of the said work, 88*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Small nails for the moulds, 8*d.*; 2 dozen of parchment for the same, 6*s.* 8*d.*

Repair of two lodges within the church aforesaid, one covered with tile, the other with reeds, 26*s.* 8*d.*

Wages to 20 regular and 4 casual masons, 2 casual setters ^c, 1 regular carpenter working about the scaffold, and newly making the roof of one side of the nave of the said monastery, 4 casual carpenters. Annual fee of William Colchester, head mason, for ordering and surveying the work, 10*l.* per annum.

Total, 1,490*l.* 11*s.* 5½*d.*; one lot of marble remains.

^b "costa."

^c "positores."

THE JERUSALEM CHAMBER*.

THE Jerusalem Chamber^b now existing was built between 1376 and 1386, by Nicholas Litlyngton, Abbot of Westminster. Few details of his life and good works have been committed to the press; but among the Cottonian Manuscripts is a very interesting record, in which many of his benefactions are enumerated, and an opportunity is thereby afforded us of entering in a measure into the peculiarities, and in estimating the excellences of his character. A short *résumé* of these will not unfitly introduce the history and description of an edifice with which his honoured name is indissolubly associated.

Nicholas Litlyngton was Prior of Westminster at the time of Abbot Simon de Langham's elevation to the see of Ely, and was thereupon elected abbot in April, 1362. He had greatly benefited the house while he was simply one of the brethren, especially by procuring the custody of the temporalities during three vacancies. On his advancement to the chief place of government in his monastery, he shewed himself a most careful and judicious defender of its rights, and an unwearied improver of its possessions. It appears that a great storm of wind had just then made havoc of the manor-houses and other buildings, but within three years he rebuilt them, and left them in better order than they were before. The abbot's house, from the foundation, was among his new buildings, with the west and south sides of the cloister, the houses of the bailiff, infirmarer,

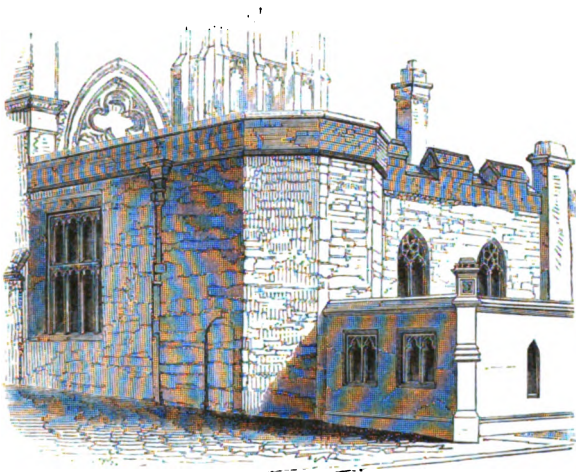
* From a paper read in the Jerusalem Chamber, at the Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, Oct. 25, 1860. By the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., &c.

^b It is not impossible that this room may have derived its name from the fact that it adjoined the Sanctuary, as in the account of the death of Pope John we read, "Nec providit quòd est Romæ ecclesia Jerusalem dicta, id est, visio pacis; quòd quicumque illuc confugerit, cujusunque criminis obnoxius, subsidium inveniet. Ibi cantat Missam Papa tribus Dominicis, quibus prætitulatur 'Statio ad Jerusalem.'"—*W. Malmesb. de Gestis reg. Angl.*, lib. ii. p. 67.—M. W.

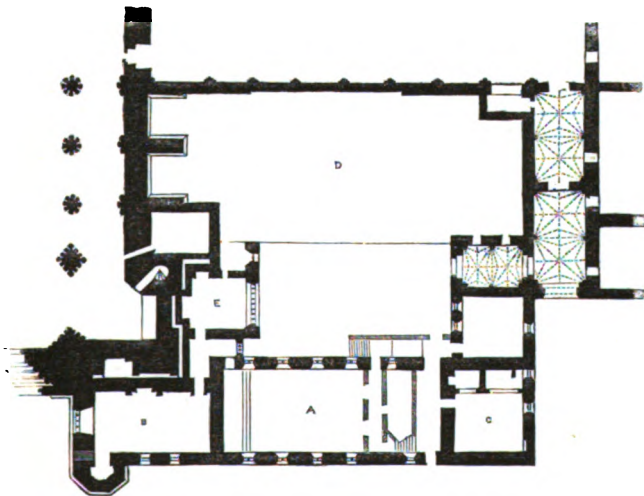
sacrist and cellarer, a great malt-house with a tower, a water-mill and the dam, with stone walls, and a stone enclosure of the garden of the infirmary. In these works he was much assisted by the funds left by his predecessor^c.

Among the rooms of the abbot's house, already mentioned, was the room called the Jerusalem Chamber. It abuts at a right angle on the southernmost of the two towers which adjoin the great western entrance to the nave of the abbey, and is thirty-six feet long and eighteen wide. It has two pointed windows on the west, and on the north a large square window, divided by several mullions, between which are inserted among the white quarries some very interesting specimens of ancient glass. The chamber formed either the withdrawing-room to the abbot's hall, to which it is contiguous, or else was itself a Guesten Hall for the constant influx of strangers who enjoyed the good abbot's hospitality. Some imagine it to have been the abbot's chapel, but its position militates against the accuracy of such a supposition. It was not the first time that a chamber of a similar name existed either on the same or a neighbouring spot.

^c He also gave a mitre of the value of a hundred marks, a pastoral staff of the value of 15*l.*, a great missal for the high altar, and two silver-gilt chalices. Also other books of the Divine Offices to the chapel of the abbot and house of the infirmary; and to his own chapel, vestments and other sacerdotal ornaments, chalices, censer, incense-pyx, bell, basin, and a pyx of silver-gilt. He also gave to the convent for their use in the refectory, there to be enjoyed and nowhere else, 48 dishes and 2 chargers, and 24 saltcellars of silver, of the weight of 104 lbs. To the same brethren also, for the misericordia house, and nowhere else, 24 dishes, 12 saltcellars, and 2 chargers of silver of 10 lbs., weighing 40 lbs., and two books of coronations marked N and L. Also to his successors in the abbacy he gave 24 dishes, 12 saltcellars, and 4 chargers of silver of the weight of 64 lbs.; 2 silver jars for wine, of the weight of 8 lbs.; one silver cup with a water-jug of silver gilt, value 100*s.*; 12 silver plates, of 12 lbs. weight; 2 basins, with 2 water-jugs of silver, of 10 lbs. weight; and 2 silver basins for lavatories, of 7 lbs. weight. The grant was dated at Westminster, 9th May, 1378. In return for these benefactions it was ordered by the convent that after his decease he should daily be remembered by them in their graces after dinner and supper, and at mass, together with the souls of the faithful departed. He died on the vigil of St. Andrew the Apostle, A.D. 1386, and was buried within the entrance before the altar of St. Blase, under a marble slab, decently adorned, that bore a long epitaph which is given by Sporley in the MS. from which these details are taken, (MS. Cott. Claud. A. viii., ff. 63, 63 B, 64).



The Jerusalem Chamber.



Plan of the Abbot's House, now the Deanery (D), the Scholars' Hall (A), and Kitchen (C), and the Jerusalem Chamber (B).

The earliest historical reference to this chamber is probably in the account of the death of Henry IV., in the *Continuatio Historiæ Croylandensis*, where it is said that the King, relying upon a deceptive prophecy, proposed to set out for the Holy City of Jerusalem; but, falling into mortal sickness, died at Westminster, in a certain chamber called of old time Jerusalem, and so fulfilled the vain prediction^a. Fabyan, one of the most valuable of our old English chroniclers, gives us a very curious and minute account of this interesting circumstance. He is recording the events of the fourteenth year of Henry's reign, and thus describes its sudden termination:—

“In this year, and 20th day of the month of November, was a great council holden at the White Friars of London, by which it was among other things concluded that, for the King's great journey, that he intended for to take in visiting of the Holy Sepulchre of our Lord, certain galleys of war should be made, and other purveyance concerning the same journey. Whereupon all hasty and possible speed was made; but after the feast of Christenmasse, while he was making his prayers at S. Edward's shrine, to take there his leave, and so speed him upon his journey, he became so sick that such as were about him feared that he would have died right there. Wherefore they for his comfort bare him into the abbot's place and lodged him in a chamber, and there upon a pallet laid him before the fire, where he laid in great agony a certain time. At length, when he was comen to himself, not knowing where he was, he freyned [asked] of such as then were about him, what place that was; the which showed to him that it belonged unto the Abbot of Westminster, and for he felt himself so sick he commanded to ask if that chamber had any special name, whereunto it was answered that it was named Jerusalem. Then said the King, ‘Loving be to the Father of Heaven; for now I know that I shall die in this chamber, according to the prophecy of me before said, that I should die in Jerusalem.’ And so after he made himself ready and died shortly after.”

The account of what may be considered the most interesting occurrence connected with this chamber would hardly be considered complete without some reference to the scene of our great dramatist, although it varies from the authentic narrative,

^a *Rev. Angl. Scr. Vet.*, Oxon. 1684, tom. i. p. 499.

^{*} Fabyan's Chronicle, ed. 1559, pp. 388, 389.

in his play of "Henry IV." The dying King inquires, as though half-expectant of the answer,—

"Doth any name particular belong
Unto the lodging where I first did swoon?"

The Earl of Warwick answers:—

"'Tis called Jerusalem, my noble lord."

And the King replies:—

"Laud be to God! Even there my life must end.
It hath been prophesied to me many years,
I should not die but in Jerusalem;
Which vainly I supposed the Holy Land.
But bear me to that chamber; there I'll lie;
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die!"

There is an ancient tradition that Edward V. was born in this room, and baptized here shortly after his birth by the Abbot of Westminster.

We have no mention of any use made of the chamber for a long time subsequent to this occurrence. In the year 1624, John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of Westminster, entertained the French ambassador here with great splendour and at considerable cost. And it is probable that the architectural peculiarities of the room, as we now see them, which are of the period of James I., the alterations in the fireplace, before which, according to the chronicler already quoted, the couch of the dying King was laid, the ceiling, and the armorial bearings in the north window, were the work of this dignitary. In March, 1640-1, an assistant or sub-committee of about twenty individuals, partly Episcopal and partly Presbyterian, was appointed to prepare matters for the cognisance of the superior committee, established to examine into "innovations in matters of religion." The afore-mentioned Bishop Williams was chosen to preside over both assemblies, and the sub-committee held for awhile its meetings in this chamber. The violent behaviour of the Presbyterian faction in the House of Commons wholly prevented any good that might have resulted from these deliberations, and the sittings were soon and abruptly terminated. In

¹ Second Part of "Henry IV.," Act iv. sc. 4.

later times the chamber has been used for the custody of the regalia during the night before a coronation. The abbots were the official keepers of these insignia of royalty, a privilege which is thus in some degree exercised by their modern representatives. The room is also used for the sittings of Convocation, and for the meetings of the Dean and Chapter.

The painted glass in the north window is much more ancient than any portion of the edifice in which it now finds a place. There was probably a Jerusalem Chamber in this church as erected by Henry III., for the "Continuator" already quoted speaks of one so called "*ab antiquo*;" and these may have been among its ornamental accessories. The costume of the figures bears out this supposition. The first Jerusalem Chamber was, as I suppose, furnished with decorations from subjects in the Gospel narrative painted upon its walls, and hence obtained its characteristic title. And by means of these and other adornments the windows themselves were made to harmonize with the rest of the structure, and to play their part in the general design*. The tapestry is of the time of Henry VIII., with the exception of one piece, which is of the period of the first James, and is very similar to the well-known examples in the Great Hall at Hampton Court Palace. The portrait of Richard II., now suspended on the south wall, is one of the most interesting of its class. It was formerly in the choir, where it seems to have been in danger from coming in too close a contiguity with the backs and heads of divers Lord Chancellors and others who occupied the stall behind which it was placed. Dart's description of it in its then condition is valuable, as it was written before the renovations to which it has since been subjected:—

"On the south side of the choir, by the pulpit," he says, "is an ancient painting of that unhappy beautiful prince, Richard ij., sitting

* The subjects of the painted glass are:—1. The Slaughter of the Innocents. 2. The Stoning of St. Stephen. 3. The Last Judgment. 4. The Descent of the Holy Ghost. 5. The Ascension. 6. St. Peter walking on the Sea. 7. Beheading of St. John the Baptist. 8. A mutilated shield of later execution, bearing the arms of Bishop Williams, the arms of the see of Lincoln, and those of the deanery of Westminster. All these are more or less patched, and the heads of the seven Scriptural subjects are filled up with blue glass of the period of James I. Many of the figures have also received sundry renovations within the last few years.

in a chair of gold, dressed in a vest of green flowered with flowers of gold and the initial letters of his name, having on shoes of gold powdered with pearls, the whole robed in crimson lined with ermine, and the shoulders spread with the same, fastened under a collar of gold; the panel plastered and gilt with several crosses and flowers of gold embossed. The length of the picture is 6 foot and 11 inches, and the breadth 3 foot 7 inches ^h."

Such is the famous Jerusalem Chamber, of which it may be said, great as the commendation is, that for historical associations and artistic accessories it is second in interest only to the venerable Abbey with which it has been so long and so intimately connected.

T. H.

^h Vol. i. p. 62.

THE ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER'S HOUSE.

[THE following extract from the Patent Rolls, communicated to us by Mr. Corner, although of somewhat later date, forms an appropriate conclusion to our sketch of the history of the Abbey buildings. The notes were supplied by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, F.R.S.L., F.S.A.]

By letters patent of Jan. 20, 32 Henry VIII. [A.D. 1541], whereby the King endowed his newly-erected see of Westminster with manors, lands, tenements, and advowsons in Essex, Berks., Yorkshire, Bucks., Gloucestershire, Herts., Hunts., Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire; he also granted to Thomas^a, Bishop of Westminster, and his successors for ever^b, all the

^a Thomas Thirleby, the first and only Bishop of Westminster; consecrated Dec. 19, 1540, translated to Norwich 1550, and to Ely 1554. He was compelled to resign the see on March 29, 1550. By charter dated at Croydon, Sept. 7, 1556, Queen Mary reinstated the monks and appointed John Feckenham abbot; but on July 12, 1559, he was deposed by Queen Elizabeth, who refounded the Abbey as a Collegiate Church, on May 21, 1560. The day, probably, is not far distant when a Bishop of Westminster may again be consecrated, to relieve the Bishop of London of a considerable portion of his extensive diocese.

^b He had, however, no successors, and after the abolition of the bishopric of Westminster, the bishop's palace, or abbot's house, was divided, a part only being assigned to the deanery: this consisted of the eastern wing, with a room over the west walk of the cloister. The abbot's hall and kitchen, which formed the west wing of the house, were assigned to the use of the scholars of the King's School, founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1560. The building at the north side of the abbot's court, in which was the solar, upper chamber, or withdrawing-room of the abbot's house, called the Jerusalem Chamber, (see Plate XXXIV.,) was assigned to the use of the Convocation of the Clergy, a purpose for which it is very inadequate. On April 17, 1640, Convocation met in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, (*Lathbury, Hist. of Conv.*, p. 221.) and again in 1700, though the Archbishop had fixed the Jerusalem Chamber for the place of meeting, (*Ibid.*, p. 285). A similar story to that of the death of Henry IV. in "Jerusalem," is related of Pope Sylvester III. in the *Eulogium Historiarum*, vol. i. pp. 256, 257. Thomas de Elmham, the contemporary of Henry IV., when relating the story of the King's death, calls the chamber "Bethlehem":—

"Flota prophetela sonuit quam vivus habebat,
Quod sibi Sancta fuit Terra lucranda cruce;
Improvisa sibi Sacra Terra datur, nescius hospes!
In Bethlem camera Westque Monasterio."

Wright's Polit. Songs, II. 122.

There was a church of Bethlehem in France, near Nevers.

site and circuit of the mansion-house and dwelling commonly called "Chenygats^c," wherein William [Boston or Benson], late abbot of the late monastery of Westminster, inhabited, together with all buildings, houses, and ground within the said site, &c., with the gardens and orchards thereto adjoining: in which said site or circuit is a certain tower, situate and being at the entrance of the said dwelling^d; which said tower contains in length, from the east end abutting on the cloister of the said late monastery to the west end abutting upon the "Elmes^e," by estimation 67 feet; and in breadth at the west end, from the north side to the south side, by estimation 24 feet 2 inches: and another building and house, with a garden and ground adjoining, containing by estimation, from the aforesaid tower to the church of the said late monastery, in width, at the east end abutting on the cloister of the said late monastery, 124 feet; and in width, at the west end abutting towards the house of the poor, called "The Kyng's Almshouse^f," 170 feet; and in length, on the north side abutting on the church of the said late monastery and upon the King's street called "The Brode

^c So called from the practice of fixing a chain across the gate which formed the entrance to the cloisters. There is a chain now drawn across the entrance of Dean's Yard, St. Paul's: the chain-gate still remains at Wells, and the Cheyney Court at Winchester; and there was a chain gate forming the entrance to St. Mary Overy's, from the High-street, Southwark.

^d The groined vault of the basement of this tower is still perfect, and has small openings in it, according to the custom in castles of the same period, (the end of the fourteenth century,) probably for the purpose of pouring down water upon any fagots that might be collected there by an attacking party with the intention of setting the gate on fire; thus shewing that the precincts of the Abbey were fortified.

^e "The Elms," now called Dean's Yard.

^f "The Almonry was on the south-east side of the Broad Sanctuary, and was divided into the Great Almonry, which comprised two parts, consisting of two oblong portions parallel to the Tothill streets, and connected by a narrow lane, the entrance being from Dean's Yard; and the Little Almonry, running southwards at the end of the Great Almonry. At the lower end was St. Anne's Chapel, which in 1576 was used as a storehouse by St. Margaret's Parish; opposite to it were almshouses founded by the Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII., for poor women. To the north of the Almonry, and on the south side of the gate-house, was an almshouse founded by Henry VII., for thirteen poor men."—*Walcott's Westminster*, pp. 89, 273, 278, 280.) Dart, in his *Westminster Abbey*, p. 66, mentions that the Duke of Somerset pulled up "the orchard" of the convent; the site is commemorated in the present Orchard-street.

Sentwarye^s," 258 feet, and on the south side abutting on "The Elmes," 239 feet. And also the fourth part of all the great cloister of the said late monastery, with the buildings situate and being above the same, which said fourth part is contiguous and next adjoining to the same mansion-house and dwelling in Westminster aforesaid: and all that building and house called "The Calbege^h" and "The Blackestole" there, which contains

^s Now called "The Broad Sanctuary."

^h Calbege? from *calle*, a 'coif,' or 'cowl,' and *bege*, 'big,' words given by Mr. Halliwell. Ducange says that *colobium*, (v. *Calabum*), from which our word 'cowl' is derived, is "cucullus ille sive superhumale quo induuntur servientes ad legem in Anglia;" and Honorius defines *colobium* "cucullata vestis;" it was the proper dress of a monk. The suggestion receives some likelihood from the name of the adjacent Black Stole tower. The name, however, may refer to the rotatory chimney-top which was in use in the sixteenth century, and is mentioned by Sir I. Harington in his *Metamorphoses of Ajax*, written at the close of that period.—(*Britton's Arch. Dict.*, p. 101.)

In illustration of the word *calbege*, may be mentioned the following curious or personal names of domestic buildings, &c.:—"Hic (scil. Johannes Ipstoke) dum esset elemosinarius fecit altum sedificium in foro videlicet *Gareffes*."—(*Abb. de Burton, Mon. Anglic.*, p. 274, 2nd Edit.) (Item dedit *le Belhouse orchard*.) *Cir.* 1430-2: "Inceptum fuit opus lapideum fontis in foro juxta *le Garretts*."—(*Ibid.*, p. 275.)

At St. Edmund's Bury, Richard of Colchester, sacristan, "Fecit novam aulam quæ dicitur *Spans* ad recreationem conventus."—(*Ibid.*, p. 801.) Dominus de Newport, sacristan of Bury, "Magnam campanam in majori campanario quæ dicitur *Newport* fieri fecit."—(*Ibid.*) At Peterborough there was "magna turris lapidea, vocata le Knyghte's Chamber;" besides a gate called "Bulhithe," "porta vocata *Le Hevyn Gates*," and "portæ vocatæ *le Redde Gates*." (*Monasticon*, i. 402.) At Glastonbury there was "a chamber called *paradyse*," besides others called "the red," "the broad," "Paulett's," &c. (*Collinson's Somerset*, ii. 260, 261.) Britton mentions a tower called *Le Camba de Berbegal*, c. 1298.—(*Arch. Dict.*, p. 53.)

1505. In the inventory of Hales Owen Abbey, we find these entries:—"In the *Caleys*, iii. mattress, &c.; in the *Ostre* [at Rochester mention is frequently made of *Ostripanes*—*Custom. Roffense*, p. 25] in the Steward chambre, a fedir bede, &c.; in *Botulph's chambre*, a fedyer bede, &c."—*Nash's Worcestershire*, vol. ii., App., p. xxii. b. There is a *Callis Court* in the Isle of Thanet, (*Hasted's Kent*, vol. iv. p. 360.) *Caleys Lands*, and *Callis Court*, in Kent, (*Ibid.* 204, 708,) and a *Caleys* at Oakham. York-street, Westminster, was formerly called "Petit *Caleys*," from being the residence of the woolstaplers. A derivation of *Callis* has been made from *calcetum*, 'a causeway.' At Stamford, Oakham, &c., however, it is the local name for an almshouse, possibly denoting the bedehouse erected for decayed woolstaplers of Calais. In a conveyance by John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, to Henry VIII., "Pety *Caleys*" is said to be "a certain great messuage or teneement commonly called Pety *Caleys*, and all messuages, houses, barns, stables,

in length, from the north end abutting on the aforesaid tower, to the south end abutting on the tower called "The Blackstole Tower¹," by estimation 88 feet: and all buildings, land, and ground being within the aforesaid edifices called "The Calbege" and "The Blackstole" on the north part, and the buildings and houses called "The Frayter Misericorde^k," and the great conventual kitchen called the great Convent Kitchen^l, on the east part. And also all that other great stone tower in Westminster aforesaid, situate and being in a certain place commonly called "The Oxehall^m:" and the houses and buildings there being and situate there between the great ditch called the Milldam on the south part, and the aforesaid barn on the north part: and all other buildings, houses, gardens, land, and ground there situate, lying and being between the said barn and between the said houses and buildings on the west part, and the said great

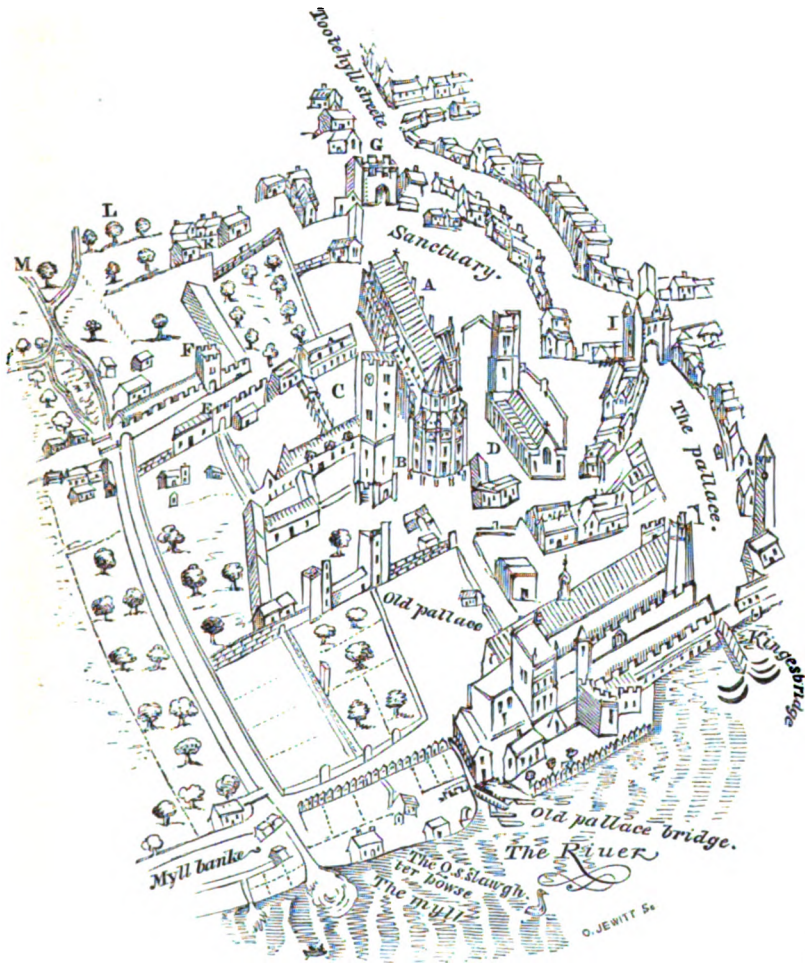
dovehouses, orchards, gardens, ponds, fisheries, waters, ditches, lands, meadows and pastures, with all and singular appurtenances in any manner belonging to the said great messuage, &c."—(*Trial, Burrell v. Nicholson*, p. 45.)

¹ There is still a tower over the entrance into Little Dean's Yard, which may have been the Blackstole tower; in this case the calbege would have stood between it and the porter's gateway-tower, and the building which occupies that position retains its ancient walls. The king's wardrobe in the reign of Edward VI. was kept in the massive jewel-tower, now at the end of the college mews, having been given to King Edward III., with a small close, by the abbot in 1377. Litlington's tower was used as a belfry in 1708, for in *Hutton's New View* it is spoken of as "a small tower, in which are six bells to ring in peal." The door and doorcase in it were brought from the Star-chamber by a late occupant, Mr. R. Clarke.

^k The monks' hall in a monastery, in which the brethren ate and drank the *misericord*—an indulgence or extra allowance over and above the regulation-fare—by permission of the abbot. It was distinct from the common refectory. There was a *misericord* at Tewksbury. (*Willis, Mitred Abbeyes*, i. 182.)

^l This was at the west end of the great hall or refectory, between it and the present porter's lodge.

^m "The oxehall, which is mentioned in connection with the great barn and the milldam, was no doubt the stable for stalling the oxen in the outer or base court of the abbey. There was an 'ox house' at Tewksbury Abbey, among the out-buildings. (*Willis, Mitred Abbeyes*, i. 182.) A parish of the name of Oxenhall (before Domesday Survey, Horsenhall), and another called Oxinton, or Oxendon, 'from the number of oxen kept there,' are mentioned in Atkyns' 'Gloucestershire,' pp. 311, 312: there is another place of the same name in Northamptonshire; and a place called Oxenhall, or Oxneyfield, occurs in Raine's 'Durham,' iii. 397, in which the tenant was bound to carry to the bishop 'wine with a wain of four oxen.' Oxinhale occurs among the estates of the Hospitallers." (*The Knights Hospitallers in England, Camd. Soc. Publ.*, p. 30.)



- A Abbey Church.
 B Littleington's Bell Tower.
 C Cloister.
 D St. Margaret's Church.
 E Tower, over the entrance to Little Dean's Yard.
 F Granary and Brewhouses.

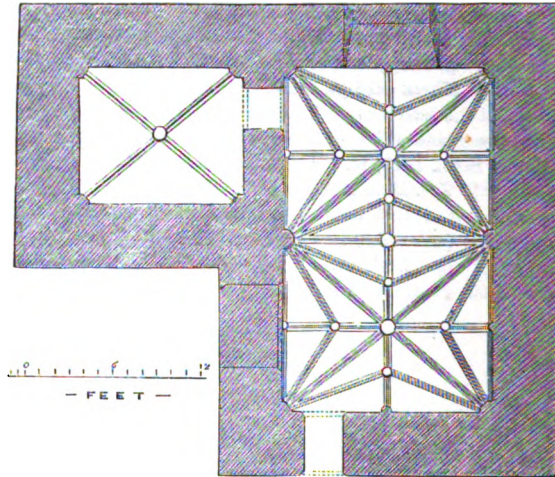
- G Gatehouse.
 H Broad Sanctuary.
 I Gate to Palace Yard.
 K Almonry.
 L Orchard.
 M Stream of water.

Plan of the Precincts of Westminster Abbey, from a Map of Westminster, undated, but probably of the time of Queen Elizabeth, in the possession of the Rev. Maackenzie Walcott.

tower called "The Long Granarye" on the east part, and between the buildings and houses called "The Bruehouse" and "The Bakehouse" of the said late monastery on the north part and the aforesaid great ditch called "The Milldam" on the south part.

^a In June, 1815, opposite to the house now occupied by Dr. Cureton, considerable portions of the granary, built c. 1380, which had been used as the scholars dormitory, (*Willis, Mitred Abbeyes*, i. 206), were discovered; at right angles ran the brewhouse and the bakehouse. The granary, elevated on a substructure, had a large central tower and a line of fine windows in two stories. A view is given in "*Gent. Mag.*," Sept., 1815, pl. i. p. 201. The foundations of the present dormitory were laid "7. Kal. Maii. MDCCLXII." The large double gate-house which stood at the entrance of Tothill-street is drawn in "*Gent. Mag.*," March, 1836. The Convent Garden (now vulgarised into Covent Garden) with the abbot's lands called "the Elms," the "Long Acre," and "the Seven Acres," were granted at the dissolution to the Protector Somerset.

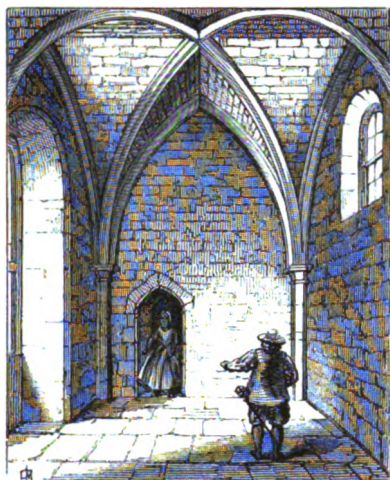
THE JEWEL-HOUSE.



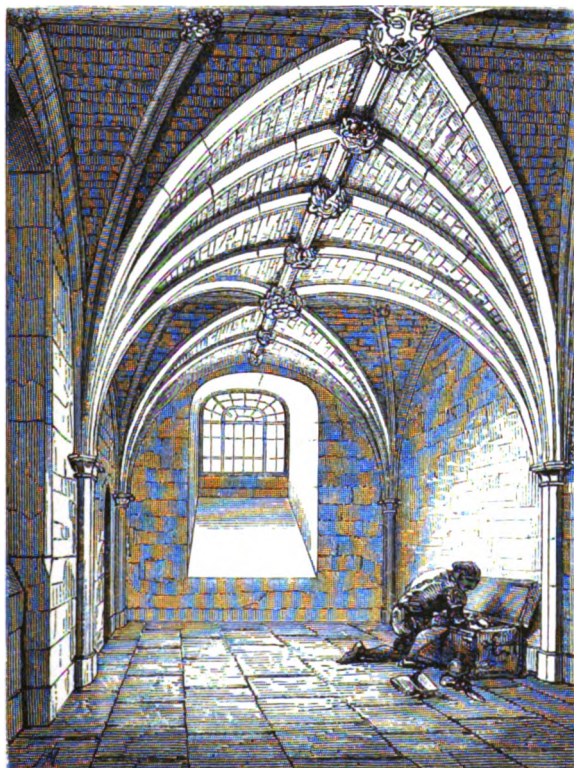
Plan of the Jewel-house, with the groining of the basement.

Few persons are aware that the King's Jewel-house, built in the time of Richard II., is still standing. The walls are perfect, even to the parapets, and the original doorways remain, their heads being of the form called the shouldered arch, so much used in domestic work throughout the Middle Ages, from the twelfth century to the fifteenth. The interior has been entirely altered to fit it up for a Public Record Office, and it is still the depository of the records of the House of Lords. A modern vault has been introduced over the first-floor room, probably as a security against fire, this room having had originally a wooden ceiling; but fortunately, the ground rooms having long been used for a kitchen and offices, and being below the level of the present street, have been preserved intact, with their original groined vaults, with moulded ribs and carved bosses, evidently a part of the same work as the cloisters and other vaulted sub-structures of Abbot Litlington.

This tower is situated to the south of the chapter-house, and



Smaller Room in the Basement of the Jewel-house.



View of the Principal Chamber in the Basement of the Jewel-house, A.D. 377-80.

at the back of the houses in Old Palace Yard: the entrance being through a Government office, admittance is commonly refused, but the antiquary who wishes to explore these remains may do so by explaining that the part he wishes to see is the basement or kitchen occupied by Mrs. Vincent, the housekeeper, and that he does not wish to go into the Record tower itself; in which there is nothing for him to see, so far as the architecture is concerned, all vestiges of antiquity having been carefully destroyed. The following extracts from Widmore give the history of this building, or at least the purchase of the ground, and there is no doubt that it was built or rebuilt immediately.

From Widmore's Enquiry, &c., 4to., 1473.

"In the last year of King Edward III., an exchange was made between that prince and the convent; the King had from them a part, either of a tower, which was afterward the King's Jewel-house, and is at present the Parliament-office, or else the ground on which this building stands: I have given the authority for this because there may be some doubt as to the meaning of the writer; but the place is so particularly described, that I think there can be no question concerning that. The church had no lands in return for this, but only which yet might possibly be as agreeable to them, a licence to purchase in mortmain forty pounds a year."

From Niger Quaternus, fol. 79.

"Anno regni regis Edwardi tertii quinquagesimo primo, septimo die Junii, idem dominus rex licentiam dedit abbati et conventui Westmonasterie perquirendi terras, tenementa et redditus ad valorem quadrigenta librarum per annum. Statuto, &c., ad manum mortuam, &c., non obstando. . . Et hæc licentia concessa est pro magna parte cujusdam turris in angulo Palatii privati versus austrum una cum quadam clausura juxta Turrim prædictam ex parte occidentali infra clausum abbatiæ et solum Sancti Petri domino regi concessum. . . Erat autem inter Turrim prædictam et murum Infirmarii, ubi nunc est clausura prædicta, via pedestris et carectaria usque ad angulum turris," &c.

The title of the writing is "Licentia regia data abbati Westm. perquirende terras et tenementa ad valorem 40*l.* pro parte Turris Vocatæ le Jewel-house," &c.

MODERN BUILDINGS.

[Communicated by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.S.A.]

ASHBURNHAM HOUSE was in 1708 the residence of Lord Ashburnham. Considerable portions remain in it which were built by Inigo Jones, and were illustrated by Sir J. Soane. In 1712 the Cottonian Library was removed hither to a gallery within the King's library, and adjoining the south cloister. In the disastrous fire of 1731, a large number of MSS. were removed to "the large boarding-house opposite," and Dr. Friend used to relate with glee that Dr. Bentley, the King's librarian, sallied out in his night-shirt and a flowing wig with the Alexandrian MS. under his arm. Camden the antiquary lodged in "the Gate-house near the Queen's Scholars' chambers." The "Terrace" was begun after the year 1815.

The Sanctuary Church is described in *Archæologia*, i. 35, and Entick's "Maitland's London," ii. 1343. Near its site the present Guildhall was built in 1805, on the foundations of the old belfry-tower. (Widmore, p. 11.) The old Guildhall stood on the west side of King-street, about fifty feet to the south of Great George-street; an ancient painting representing it—perhaps the gift of a Duke of Northumberland—was transferred to the walls of the present Sessions House.

At the entrance of the Little Sanctuary, in the early part of the last century, a groined cellar was discovered near some remains of a stone gateway; it was probably a portion of the house of the porter. The entrance-gate from the Sanctuary into King-street was removed before the year 1708. The gate-house with its double gates at the west entrance of the Abbey was built by W. de Warfield, cellarer, in the reign of Edward III.; on the east side was the Bishop of London's prison for clerks convict; and over the south gate leading into Dean's

Yard was the prison for debtors and State criminals. Dr. Johnson longed to see its demolition, as it was "a disgrace to the present magnificence of the capital, and a continual nuisance to neighbours and passengers." In 1776 it was destroyed.

The names of Vine-street and Bowling-street recall the vineyard and bowling-alley of the monastery. In the overseers' books of St. Margaret's for the year 1565, "the Vyne garden" and the "Myll next to Bowling Abbey" are duly rated. The site of Black Dog Alley was Abbot Benson's garden; and the Hostelry garden extended over the ground which lay between the bowling-green and the river bank. In the register-book of the treasurer of the Abbey, this entry occurs under the year 1733:—"Hosstry Gardens, with the houses thereupon built, Rent, 10*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and four capons or 12 shillings." Great College-street was long called the "Dead Wall," owing to the houses fronting the wall of the infirmary garden built by Abbot Litlington.

The formation of the present Dean's Yard is first mentioned in a petition of the churchwardens, vestrymen, and other inhabitants of the united parishes of St. Margaret and St. John, presented March 5, 1753, to the House of Commons, which states that "a Bill was pending to enable the Rev. W. Markham, D.C.L., Thomas Salter, Esq., and others, to build houses and open a square in and upon a certain piece of ground called Dean's Yard, Westminster, and certain pieces of ground contiguous thereto." (*Walcott's Hist. of St. Margaret's*, p. 99.) Dr. Markham, afterwards Archbishop of York, was head master of Westminster School from 1753 to 1764.

APPENDIX.

FABRIC ROLL OF 1253,

WITH EXPLANATIONS BY PROFESSOR WILLIS.

Among the records deposited in the Public Record Office, one has been lately discovered by Mr. Burt, entitled "A Roll of Payments of Wages, and of Purchases for the Works at Westminster, 37 Henry III."

It contains the entire accounts of the building works during thirty-two continuous weeks, beginning with the first week after Easter, which in that year, 1253, fell on April 20; consequently the works in question began on Monday, April 28, and the last week of the roll ended with Saturday, December 6. The account for each week is complete in itself, but no day of the month is mentioned, neither are the weeks numbered continuously, although for convenience I shall designate them as if they had been, and have accordingly added consecutive numbers in parentheses to these weeks in the complete copy of the Roll below.

The first six weeks are indicated as first, second, &c., after Easter (Ebd' prima post Pasch' . . .) The seventh week was Whitsun week, and was evidently kept as a holiday, but is not mentioned in the roll; the week next following the sixth after Easter, being termed the first after Pentecost, is thus actually the eighth week from the beginning of the account roll. This enumeration continues to the fifteenth week, which is termed the eighth after Pentecost. The sixteenth week begins a new series, termed the first, second, &c., "after the agreement for wages for eight weeks," (Ebd' prima post pacacione^a stipendior' pro viii^o Ebd'.) This enumeration continues through twelve weeks, and carries us to the end of the twenty-seventh week of the roll. The twenty-eighth is termed the first week after the feast of All Saints, and the succeeding the second, third, &c., concluding with the "Ebdomada v^a," or thirty-second week of the whole, which closes the account.

At the head of each week one or more saints' days are sometimes

^a PACATIO . . . pactum, conventio.—*Ducange*.

mentioned in a peculiar manner. Thus, to begin, the complete title of the first week is,—

“Ebd’ prima post Pasch’ continente festum Apostol. Philip’ et Jacobi p’ die’ Jovis quod est d’ni Regis et festu’ Inventionis S^ce Crucis p’ die’ Sab’ quod est cem’tar’.”

‘First week after Easter, containing the feast of the Apostles Philip and James on Thursday, which belongs to the King, and the feast of the Invention of the Cross on Saturday, which belongs to the masons.’ The second week is similarly said to “contain the feast of St. John ante portam Latinam on Tuesday, which belongs to the King;” and the third week is “sine festo.” Thus throughout the roll feasts occur, sometimes two in a week, but generally only one. Fourteen of the weeks have none. Whatever feasts are mentioned, however, are assigned alternately to the King and to the masons. The only intermission of this rule is in the twenty-seventh week, where the feast of SS. Simon and Jude ought to have been given to the masons, but is assigned to the King, apparently because of the fact stated in the title of the week, that it is the first day of his regnal year^b.

It may be presumed, therefore, that the feast-days thus assigned to the masons were kept as a holiday, and that they worked on the feasts assigned to the King, who in this roll is the employer of the masons.

I am not aware that this curious custom has been noticed by any previous writer. I have set down in the note below the list of the saints’ days selected^c. It is probable that in other years some other principal saints would have been also included which happen in this year to fall on a Sunday.

Having now discussed the titles to shew the mode of designating the weeks, we may examine the accounts themselves. They are placed, for every week, under two heads, the wages and the purchases, or *emptions*. The sum of each of these is separately stated, as well as the total. The nature of these payments will be best understood by giving a translation of one week complete; for, generally speaking, the workmen, the materials, and other items recur nearly in the same order

^b This is the title of the twenty-seventh week:—“Ebd’ xij^a contin’ festu’ Apostolor’ Sim’ et Jude quod est dni’ Regis anno Regni Regis Henr’ xxxvij^{mo} incipiente et festu’ o’ium S’cor’ p’ die Sab’ quod est cem’t.”

^c List of the feast-days assigned alternately to the King and the masons, and marked R and C accordingly: “Philip and James, R; Inven. S. Crucis, C; John ad port. Lat., R; Ascension, C; John Bapt., R; Thom. Mart., C; Magdalen, R; James, C; Pet. ad vinc., R; Assumpt., C; Decollatio, R; Nativ. B.M., C; Michael, R; Trans. b. Edw., C; Luke, R; Sim. and Jude, R; Omn. S’co’m, C; Martin, R; Edmund, C; Katerina, R; Nicholas, C.”

in every week. There is a great advantage in this; for as the same terms are repeated, it happens that in some cases they are written more at length than in others, or spelled in a more intelligible manner, and thus the collation of so many examples of the same word greatly assists the interpretation of the unusual or technical expressions.

"Second week after Easter, containing on Tuesday the feast of St. John ante portam Latinam, which belongs to the King:—

"To wages of 49 cutters of white stone, 15 marblers, 26 stonelayars, 32 carpenters with John and his partner at St. Albans, two painters with an assistant, 13 polishers, 19 smiths, 14 glaziers with four plumbers, 15¹ 10¹ 1^d. [This will give an average of 1s. 10d. per week.]

"To wages of 176 inferior workmen with overseers and clerks, and two two-horse carts daily, 9¹ 17^s 2^d. [About 9d. a week.]

"Sum of wages, 25¹ 7^s 3^d.

"EMPTIONS.—To Master Albericus for arrears of *form-pieces* . . . 66^s; 53 feet of *parpents*, 4^d per foot; 59 feet of *voussoirs* with *fillets* at 3^d per foot; 1,221¹ feet at 3^d per foot; . . . 50 *assises* at 5^d each assise; 42 *chamberands*; 22 feet of *maignans*; 243 feet *cerches*; 9 feet of *bosses*; and seven *steps*, cut by taskwork, 7¹ 13^s 1^d.

"Item, for 9 *capitals*, 68 feet of *escus*, 1,591 feet of *cerches*, 54^s 4^d.

"Item, for 25 hundred and a-half quartern of chalk for the vaults, 8^s 7^d."

"Item, for 22 hundred and 8 quarterns of freestone, 6¹ 16^s 6^d. To Roger of Reygate for 8 hundred and a quartern of freestone, 53^s 7¹ 4^d. To Richard the limeburner for 3 hundred of lime, 15^s. To Agnes for two hundred and a half of lime, 12^s 6^d. To Richard of Eastcheap for 2 dozen hurdles or crates⁴ with poles, 9^s 7^d. To Richard Oggel for 5 dozen hurdles with poles, 12^s 6^d. To Henry of the bridge for iron nails and whetstones⁵, 19^s 8^d. To Benedict for carriage, portorage, and weighing of 23 cartloads of lead, 9^s 4^d. To Richard for *litter*⁶, 18^d.

"Sum total of emptions, 27¹ 12^s 10¹ 4^d.

"Sum total of the week, 53¹ and 1¹ 4^d."

This week may be taken as a fair specimen of the whole. The first part informs us of the number of workmen of each kind that were

⁴ In the Westminster Rolls (printed by Smith, Antiq. of Westminster, p. 182, and Brayley and Britton, Hist. of Houses of Parliament, pp. 151, 153), "Hurdles for the scaffolds of St. Stephen's Chapel" occur 4 Ed. III., &c., with beams, and poles, and "leather thongs to tie the said beams and hurdles together." The original Latin is not generally given in these publications, but in one case Smith (or rather Hawkins), p. 184, has "twenty-four hurdles *pro visis super dictam scaffoltam*," which explains the use of the hurdles to serve in lieu of the planks we now employ.

⁵ "Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ferri et *gressis*," xixs. But in the previous week we have "Henr' de Ponte p' *gress* ad Martella acuenda." Ducange gives "GRES-SIUS, silex; Gall. *grés*," (i.e. sandstone or grit). The *gress* for sharpening the *picks* or *stone-hammers* is therefore, not the English word *grease*, as it might appear, but a *whetstone*.

⁶ "LITERIA, stramentum."—Ducange.

employed in daily labour; the second part gives the materials and their carriage. The number of white stone-cutters was gradually increased from 39 in the first three weeks to 78 in the fifteenth week, and diminished again to 35 in the last weeks. The marblers, about 16 in the first eight weeks, were suddenly increased to 49 in the ninth week, who remained at work till the eighteenth week, and then were suddenly reduced to 31, and went on diminishing to 7. The stone-layers vary from 35 to 4. The 32 carpenters working in the first seven weeks are then reduced gradually to 9 only. The polishers are about 15, and the smiths 18 throughout; and about 14 glaziers employed in the first ten weeks are suddenly reduced to 6 for a month, and then to 2 for the remainder of the time. The inferior workmen vary from 220 to 37. The gross amounts are: Stipends, 696*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*; Emptions, 891*l.* 9*s.* 5½*d.*; giving a total of 1,587*l.* 18*s.* 0½*d.*

From these particulars the nature of the work may be surmised; but, unfortunately, there are very few exact indications of the actual buildings upon which the workmen were employed. The only evidences of this kind that I have detected are the following, numbered to correspond with the weeks in which they occur: (1), tables or planks for the CHAMBERS of the king and queen; (7), panels for the king's bed, and for a table in the seaccarium; (3), 100 tiles provided for the KING'S CHAPEL; (15), task-work at entrance of the CHAPTER-HOUSE, (It., p' tasch' int'it' capituli l. s.). From the 19th to the 26th and 31st weeks, charges occur in nearly every week for nails for the CHURCH AND BELFRY; and in the 25th week Roger the Plumber is paid 10*l.*, and 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for task-work at the belfry (*berefridam*). This was probably the detached belfry of the Abbey church, which is known to have stood on the north side, upon the site of the existing Sessions-house.

Stukeley gave drawings of it in the *Archæologia*, vol. i. p. 39, under the name of the *Sanctuary*, but states that it was still called the *Belfry*. Stow relates that Edward III., about 1347, built to the use of St. Stephen's chapel, in the little sanctuary, a "chlocharde" of stone and timber covered with lead, &c. Widmore (*History of Westminster Abbey*, p. 11) found it mentioned for the first time in a charter of Edward I. (1290): "It was then called the bellfrey and continued to be used as such, or at least to go by that name till the present towers of the church were built by Abbot Islip." The roll we are now examining shews that it was in course of construction and apparently covered with lead in 37 Hen. III. The building represented by Stukeley is of stone and in two stories, of a form well adapted to serve as the sub-

structure of a lofty timber-framed tower, similar to that of Salisbury destroyed by Wyatt, but preserved to us in the drawings of Price. The wooden tower had disappeared long before the time of Stow, and the stone substructure was pulled down in 1750 to make way for a new market-house. It had been for a long while occupied as a cellar for the Quakers' Tavern in Thieving-lane. The market-house was in turn pulled down about 1770, and the present Guildhall built as nearly as possible upon the site of the old belfry.

In the second week Magister Albericus is paid for task-work of the *form-pieces*, ("pro tascha formarum,") that is, for *window tracery*, probably of the Abbey church, and also 6*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* in the twenty-fifth. On the back of the roll it is recorded that on Tuesday of the fourth week after Pentecost^s, on the morrow of the blessed Thomas the Martyr, Master Albericus with three associates began the task-work of three windows. Also that on the Monday after "ad vincula S' Petri," (that is to say, in the fifteenth week of the roll,) two parcels of coloured glass, valued at 12*s.* 2*d.* a parcel, and two of white glass at 6*s.* each parcel, were delivered to Master Henry to be employed in the task-work of the windows, charging per foot wrought of coloured glass 8*d.*, and of white glass 4*d.*

Another memorandum records that on Monday, the morrow of St. Bartholomew, (August 25,) the work in the king's quarry began.

Attached to the roll in the sixth week is a letter from Robert de Bremele to Master John de Oxonia^b, informing him that he has despatched a boat-load of marble by William Justice, to whom five marcs and a-half and ten shillings are to be paid for freight. He also promises to send another boat-load before Pentecost, and a third if he can find a vessel to convey it. Similar letters are attached to the second week and to the twenty-second.

The *Emptions* in each week's account include, in the first place, pieces of free-stone cut by task-work into various shapes required for doors, windows, arches, vaults, or other portions of the structure, and made ready for setting. These are sometimes separately enumerated by name, as in the second week above, and furnish very curious illustrations of mediæval nomenclature. But in the latter part of the roll such pieces are all entered in the general form, "In diversis modis france petre ad tascham cisse," 'to various shapes of free-stone cut by task-work,' and similarly for marble. Next occur stones from the

^a i.e. the eleventh week of the roll.

^b John of Oxford occurs in the Westminster Rolls published by Smith, p. 184, 5 Edw. III.

quarries, probably in a rough state, or at least only fit for plain walling. These are "Came stone" (Caen stone); "Reygate stone," generally from Roger de Reygate, and sometimes described as free-stone, "*franca petra*," e.g. (8), "*Rogº de Reygate p' vº and di fnoe pet', xxxvs. ix^d.*;" Grey stone, "*petra grisea*," (6) and (10), "*pro ii. navatis grise pet*," and (9) and (10) chalk for the *pendentia*,—"creta ad pendentia," the latter being the term universally employed in mediæval documents for the vaults that rest upon the ribs. In (24) we have "*p' marmore apud Cerne xvij^j xix^j*." Beside these, other materials for building occur, as (1), "*mmcccc. ferri tenacis de glovernia, iiii^j xij^j*," iron from Gloucestershire, and as in the specimen week inserted above (p. 233). In some of these entries we obtain names of trades which are of unusual occurrence. Thus (6), (21), and (12), "*Ade Merenemio pro bordis et lateis*," i.e. Merenemius, a timber merchant, from Meremium. Ricardus *Calsonarius* the lime-burner (from *Calcifurnium* or the French *Chaufournier*) occurs throughout. In (4), (13), (25), Ricardus *Cuparius*¹, or *Cucarius*, the cooper, from *Cupa* and *Cuva*; in (1), Jacob *Junctor*, the joiner, for tables; and in (6), "*Jacobo Junur p' panell' ad lectu dⁿⁱ Regis jungendis*," &c.

The masons' terms for shaped stones are for the most part the same that I have discussed in my "*Architectural Nomenclature*," in the fifth edition of the "*Oxford Glossary*," 1850, and elsewhere, but they furnish a variety of spellings which are often instructive. I subjoin a list of those which appear to require explanation. They are arranged in alphabetical order, and the numbers in brackets prefixed to each word indicate the weeks of the roll in which it occurs:—

(1, 3, &c., &c.) *Asselors*, or ashlar stones.

(3) (2). "*l. assisis p' assise v.d.*" . . . (5). *xxi. Essicis*,—stones prepared for coursed masonry, from the French *assise*.

(2) (3) (5). "*ix. ped de bosseus . . . xxxiiij. ped de bosous*,"—the carved stones placed at the intersection of the ribs of vaults, which are still called *bosses*, (vide "*Arch. Nom.*," p. 43, and "*Glossary*"). They were sometimes termed keys, or *claves*, of which the present roll has an example in (6), "*ii. Clavibus et viij. Capitrel*."

(4). "*. . . xli. buscoll', p' buscell iij^d*." (7). "*p' xi. busch', xix^j*." Will. Jacobo *p' cc* and *q'rt'n bush', vº. vij^d. ob.*" (16). "*. . . q'rt'n busch', ix^d*." The first entry is in a list of stones shaped by task-work, and I know no other instance of this use of the word.

But in another list of stones (3) we find "*xvi. ped et di et di' q'rt'n. de grossis rotundis*," which seem, for want of technical name, to be simply

¹ This is given by Ducange.

² Vide "*Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, vol. i., 1844."

called *great round stones*; and in (2) "*xxij. ped maignans*," which appear to be merely large stones (*magnums*), from the old French *maigns*. It may be supposed in the same way that the "bushel stones" above were round stones, suitable for a column, which were so distinguished for the moment because they happened to be about the size and shape of a bushel measure, (about eighteen inches across and eight inches thick).

The other two examples of the word *bushel* are at the end of the Emptions, amongst hurdles, "*bokettes*," &c., and are probably bushel baskets, or bushel measures of some article not mentioned.

(3). "*xi. ped de Chapen't bowe*" occurs but once, with nothing to indicate its meaning.

(2). "*xlij. chamberand*." (8). "*cxvj. cham'and*," also (4) (5). I have found this word repeatedly in the accounts of King's Hall, Cambridge. Thus in 6 Edward IV. in the form *chamberh'nt*, and in 6 Henry VI. as "*xix. ped de chamerants pro magna porta*;" and soon after, "*xxiiij. ped de jambes*." In 4 Henry V., "*lapid' vocat champys*," and in 5 Henry V. "*... jambys*." I have also found it in other account rolls, and in my "*Nomenclature*," art. 81, have given another form apparently of the same word, namely *chaumeres*, which I supposed to be *jawmers*, or stones for the *jambes* of doors or windows. The spelling of the above examples appears to shew that this word is the same as the French *chambrant*, the ornamental border or set of moldings about a door, window, or chimney, and in these early examples was used for the molded stones of the jambs, if not also for the arch-molds, or at least for the hood-molds.

(2). "*ccxliij. ped cerches*." (9). "*ccxviij. ped de serches*." *Cherche* and *serche* are old French words for circular arcs, and are used by workmen for convex or curved pieces. In this place they may mean convex stones, such as would be employed in building cylindrical piers.

(2). "*lxviij. ped de escus*." (3) also (9). "*iiij^{xx} et x. et di ped' de scutis*." (5). "*xvij. ped de escum't*." These are *skew-stones*, i.e. stones cut with a bevel edge. Similar terms occur frequently in masons' accounts. (Vide *Skew*, *Skew-table*, &c., in "*Arch. Nom.*" and "*Glossary*.")

(2) (3) (9). "*Folsuris cum filo*." (4). "*Rotundis folsuris cum fillet*," i.e. voussoirs with a filleted molding.

(4) (5) (3). "*Rotundis folsuris*," i.e. voussoirs with round moldings.

(9). "*iiii^{xx} v. folsuræ chanferete*," i.e. chamfered voussoirs. *Chanfrain* means also channeled or furrowed, and therefore we may include voussoirs with moldings under this expression. All these are

voussoirs for molded arches or ribs, and as they occur in company with "chalk for the vaults and bosses," (*creta ad pendentia*), are intended for their ribs.

(5). *Forimells*. (3). *Formellis*. The same as "form-pieces," namely, the stones cut for tracery. ("Arch. Nom.," p. 48, and "Glossary.")

(5). *Lothenges*, stones cut into the form of the heraldic *lozenge*, perhaps for paving.

(6). "It' Rog°. de Tri pro iiij. *orbilons* xxxiiij. sol." This word only occurs in this example, and here in small number. We may guess the thing to be a carved boss or bracket of a globular form; or, as *orbile* is the rim of a wheel, they may be stones in a ring form for tracery.

(2) (3). . . . *perpens*, *parpens*, or through stones.—(Vide *Perpent-stone* in "Glossary.")

(4). *Scention'*, or *scenhon'*. This is a word which frequently occurs, with varied spelling, in masonic documents. (Vide *Scutcheon* in "Arch. Nom." p. 37, and "Glossary.") It is always used for stones with an obtuse external angle.

(3). "c. et iiij^{xx} ped. de *tablements*,"—stringcourses. ("Arch. Nom.," p. 25, and "Glossary," art. TABLE.)

FABRIC ROLL OF 1253.

(1)* Ebd' prima post Pasch' Continente festū Apostolor' Philip' et Iacobi p' diē Iovis quod est dn'i Regis et festū Inventio'is Scē Crucis p' diē Sab' quod est cem'tar'.

In stipendiis xxxix. albor' ciss' xiiij. marmor' xx. cubitor' xxxij. carpent' cū Ioh' ap'd Scm' Alban' iij. Pictor' xiiij. Poll'is xix^a. fabor' xiiij. vit'ar' cū iij^{or}. plūbator', xiiij^u xij^a.

In stipend' c.l. minutor' op'ar' cū custod' cler' et duabz bigis diurnis, vj^u et xvj^a.

S^a stipen', xj^u viij^a.

Emptiones Henr' Fab'. Bernard' de Sc'a Osida p' v^c iij^{xx} et viij. ped' de Asselers ciss' ad tasch', xiiij^a viij^d. It' Henr' de Chersaulton' p' vj^c et d'i crete ad pend' ciss' ad tasch', xxvj^d. It' Nich' Scot et sociis suis p' portagio pet^a, vj^a viij^d. It' p' mmm. vj^a f'nce pet^a, x^u xvj^a. Rog' de Reygate p' m. f'nce pet^a, lxx^a, p' ij. navat' grise pet^a, xiiij^a iij^d. It' p' v^c calcis, xxv^a. Ade Meren' p' meremio bordis et latis xxxiiij^a x^d. It' Jacobo Junctor' p' Tabul' ad cam'as d'ni Regis et Rigine et p' pamestrs ad lectū dn'i Regis, lxxiiij^a ij^d. It' Ric' de Estchepe p' virgis et craticul', iijij^a vj^d. It' Ric' Ogul' p' craticul', v^a. Ric' Crucar' p' bochetis, iij^a vj^d. Walt' Box p' cordis, viij^a vj^d. Henr' de Ponte p' Grese ad Martella acuenda, iijij^a. It' eidē H. p' clavis f'i, xiiij^a. Ric' de Celer' p' mm. cccc. ferri tenacis de Glov'nia, iijij^u xvj^a. It' p' cariagio dci' f'ri, iij^a iijij^d. It' Mich' Tony p' xxiiij. chareis plūbi, l^u. It' Pain p' cyn'es plūbi fundend', xl^a. It' Joh' Sige p' xiiij. m. et d'i tegul' cū portagio et cavill', xxviiij^a xj^d.

Sm^a empcionū, xxvij^u xij^u iijij^d.

Sm^a total' Ebd', xlix^u iijij^d.

(2.) Ebd' ij^a post Pasch' contin' festū bi' Joh'is an' Portā Latinā p' diē martis quod est d'ni Regis. In stipend' xxxix. albor' ciss' xv. marm' xxvi. cubitor' xxxij. carpent' cū I. et socio suo ap'd Sc'm Alban' Duobz Pictor' cū s'viente xiiij. poll' xix. fab^{or}. xiiij. vit'ar' cū iij^{or} plūbator', xv^u x^a d'. In stipend' clxxvi. op'ar' cū custodibz clericis cū ij. big' diurnis, ix^u xvij^a ij^d.

Sm^a stipend', xxv^u vij^a iij^d.

Emptiones. Mag'ro Alb'co p' arreagiis formar' et . . . lxxvj^a, p' liij. ped' de p'pen' p' ped' iijij^d, lix. ped' de folsur' cū fil' p' ped' iij^d, mⁱ cc. et xxj. ped' et d'i p' ped' iij^d . . l. assais p' assise v^d, xliij. chamberand', xxij. ped' malignanz, cxxliij. ped' cerches, ix. ped' de bosseus, et vij. passibz cissis ad tasch', vij^u xiiij^a j^d. It' p' ix. capitell', lxxviiij. ped' de escus, m. v^c iij^{xx} xj

* The continuous marginal numbers in parentheses at the beginning of each week are inserted to correspond with the previous explanations.

ped' de cerch', liiij^a et iiij^d. It' p' mm. v^e d'm q^{rt}' pendent' crete, viij^a viij^d. It' p' mm. cc. et iij. q^r' france petre, vj^u xvj^a vj^d. Rogero de Reygate p' viij^a q^{rt}' franc' petre, liij^a viij^d ob'. Ricard' Cal'fon p' ccc. calc', xv^a. Agnes p' cc. d'm calc', xij^a vj^d. It' Ricard' de Estchep p' ij. duoden' craticl'ar' cū virgis, ix^a viij^d. Ricard' Oggel p' v. duoden' craticl'ar' cū virg', xij^a vj^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ferri et gressiis, xix^a viij^d. Bened'co p' vect'a, portag', et pesg', xxij. charr' plumb', ix^a iiij^d. Richo' p' litia, xvij^d.

Sm^a total' emp'conu', xxvij^u xij^a x^d ob'.

Sm^a total' Ebd', liij^u et d' ob'.

Upon a Schedule attached to the Roll.

Magr' Joh' de Oxonia suus R. de Bremel'. Salutē. Mitto vob' unā navatā marmoris p' Osmundū Latorē p'senciū cui h're faciatis q^{tuor} lib'r et iij. sol' et dimid' marcā . . q^a m' acomodavit ad navim hon'andā . . . una . . . marenarios ut alias ad s'viciū n'r'm fiant p'nciores et q^a cici' pot'itis m' den h're faciatis.

(3.) Ebd' iij^a sine festo. In stipend' xxxix. albor' ciss' xv. marmor' xxvj. cubitor' xxxij. carpent' cū I. et sociis ap'd S'c'm Alban' Pet' Pictor' xv^a Poll' xvij. fab^{er} xiiij. vit'ar' cū vj. plūbat', xvij^u xj^a. It' in stipend' cc. minutur' op'ar' cū custod' cler' et duabz bigis diurnis xiiij^u iij^a x^d. Sum^a stipend', xxx^u xiiij^a x^d.

Empeiones. ix. ciss' p' xxxvj. assisis et d'i ciss' ad tasch'. It' p' lxxvj. ped' de p'arpens. It' p' xiiij. ped' et d'i de folsuris cū filo. It' p' xxix. ped' et d'i de lotundis folsuris. It' p' cxvj. ped' de Cham'and'. It' p' xij. ped' de formell. It' p' xxxiiij. ped' de boseus. It' p' xj. ped' de Chapemēt bowe. It' p' iiij^{xx} et x. et d'i ped' de scutis. It' p' c. et iiij^{xx} ped' de tablem'to. It' xxxij. ciss' p' m. cc. et j. ped' de asselers, vj^u xij^a viij^d ob'.

S^a tasch', xvj^u x^a iiij^d.

It' in cxlvj. ped' et d'i de g^{ssis} columis marmoris. In cxlj. ped' et d'i de g^acilibz col'm marmor', ix. ped' de bos' vj. ped' et d'i de tabul'm et vj. basis et vj. chepit's et xvj. ped' et d'i et d'i q^{rt}'ii de g^{ssis} rotund', ix^u xvij^a viij^d ob', p' mm. viij^e fnce pet', viij^u viij^a. Rog' de Reyg' p' vj^e pet', xxxix^a. Ric' Cast p' ij^e calcis, x^a. Agn' p' cccc. et iij q^{rt}'ii calcis, xxiij^a ix^d. It' p' cccc. et xl. caretatis sabul' fodend' et cariend', viij^a x^d. It' Ric' Estchepe p' iiij. duod' craticul', xij^a vj^d. Ric' Ogul' p' vj. duod' craticul' cū virgis, xv^a. Henr' de Ponte p' xj. garbis asseri clavis f'ri cū dimidia duodena cenevect, xxv^a vj^d. It' in c. tegul' cavatis ad capellā Regis, xvij^d.

Sum^a emptionū, xxxj^u xiiij^a v^d.

Sum^a total' Ebd', lxij^u ix^a iij^d.

(4.) Ebd' iiij^a sine festo. In stipend' xlj. albor' ciss' xvj. marmor' xxxj. cubit' xxxij. carpent' cū I. et sociis ap'd S'c'm Alban'. Pet' pictoris xv. poll' xvij. fab^{er} xiiij. vit'ar' cū vj. plūbator', xvij^u iiij^a. It' in stipend' ccxij. op'ar' cū custod' cler' et ij. bigis diurnis, xiiij^u d^r.

Sum^a total' stipend', xxxij^u iiij^a i^d.

Emptiones p' xl. assisis p' ass', v^d. It' p' viij. ped' Scenhon' p' ped', ij^d.

It' p' l. ped' et d'i de formell' 'p ped' ij⁴, pro xlj. buscell' p' buscell' iij⁴, pro clxxiiij. ped' et di Cham'and p' ped' ij⁴ ob'. Pro lvij. ped' et d'i de parpen p' ped' iij⁴ p' viij. ped' de folsur' rotund' p' ped', iij⁴. It' p' xij. ped' de rotund' folsuris cū fillet p' ped', iij⁴ ob' p' lxxj. ped' de Scenh' p' ped' iij. q'r, iij⁴ xvij⁴ x⁴. It' p' ij. navat' pet' de Came, xij⁴ pac'. It' p' mmm. c. et iij. q'r't'ij f'nce pet', ix⁴ x⁴ vj⁴. It' Rog' de Reygate p' vj⁴ et d'i pet', xlij⁴ iij⁴, p' ij navat' grise pet', xlij⁴ iij⁴. It' Ric' Calf p' cccc. et d'i calcis, xxij⁴ vj⁴. Agn' p' cc. et q'r't'ij calcis, xi⁴ iij⁴. It' Ric' Estchepe p' virgis, iij⁴ iij⁴. It' Ric' Ogul' p' craticul', xv⁴. Ric' Cunar' p' utensil' em'd, xvij⁴. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis f'ri, xvj⁴ x⁴ ob'.

Sm⁴ empconū, xx⁴ xvj⁴ iij⁴ ob'.

Sum⁴ total ebd', liij⁴ iij⁴ ob'.

(5.) Ebd' v⁴ contin' festū assentio'is quod cem't. In stipend' xlj. albor' ciss' xvj. marmor' xxxj. cubitor' xxxij. carpent' cū l. et sociis ap'd S'c'm Albanū Pet' Pictor' xv. poll' xvij. fab'or' xlij. vit'ar' cū vj. plūbator', xvij⁴ et x⁴.

In stipend' cc. et xlij. op'ar' cū custod' et cler' et ij. bigis diurnia, xij⁴ xix⁴.

Sm⁴ stipedior', xxx⁴ xj⁴ vij⁴.

Emptiones p' xxj. Essicis vj. ped' et d'i parpen lx.xij. ped' de folsur' cū filo viij. ped' de rotūd' folsur' xxxvij. bosseus et xlv. ped' de cham'and' cxxxij. ped' de forimell' cxvij. lothenges xvij. ped' de eassum' mmm. ix⁴ xxxvj. ped' de asselers, ix⁴ iij⁴ iij⁴. It' Ade de Aldewyche cū sociis p' v⁴ v⁴ pendētis crete cissis ad tasch', xliij⁴ vij⁴. It' p' mmm. france pet', ix⁴. Rog' de Reygate p' viij⁴ pet', lij⁴. It' Ric' Calf p' v⁴ et iij. q'r't' calcia, xxvij⁴ x⁴. Agn' calf p' cc. et d'i calcis, xij⁴ vj⁴. It' Ric' de Estchepe p' v'rgis et bacul', v⁴ vij⁴. Ric' Ogul' p' v. duoden' craticular', xij⁴ vj⁴. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis f'ri et cera cū pice, xliij⁴ p' ceruris curie, xx⁴. Laur' vit'ar' p' ij. sum' vit' color' iij. sum' albi vit' et vij. pisis vit' albi, lij⁴. Richer de C'ce xxx. fescell' li'i ad fab'cas, iij⁴ iij⁴.

Sm⁴ total' emp'conum, xxvij⁴ xliij⁴.

Sm⁴ total' Ebd', lvij⁴ xij⁴ et ix⁴.

(6.) Ebd' vj. sine festo. In stipend' xlj. albor' cissor' xvj. marmor' xxxv. cubit' xxxij. carpent' Pet'. Pictor' xv. poll' xvij. fabror' xlij. vit'ar' cū vj. plumb' xix⁴, et xix⁴. In stip' cc. et xlij. minutor' op'ar' cū custod' et cl'icis et ij. bigis diurn', xliij⁴ et j⁴.

Sm⁴ total' stipend', xxij⁴ et xx. den'.

Upon a Schedule attached to the Roll.

Magr' Joh'i de Oxonia suus Rob' de Bremerle eandē q⁴ s' salutē et se totū. Mitto vob' unā marmoris navatā p' Will'm Justise cui h're faciatis p' frecto q'n ; marcas et dimid' et decē solid' et mittam vob' Deo favente unā navatā ante Pentecost' et t'ciam si navim possim ad d'cam pet'm deducendā invenire Sciatis adventū meū in Sept' Pentecost' et no' ante q'r tēpp' n'c instat in q' ip'e absente negocia n'ra n'o b'n possunt expediri.

Sm⁴ total' debiti a Pasch' usq' vigil' Pentecost' p' vj. ebd', ccc.

lxj⁴ xliij⁴ vij⁴ ob.

Emptiones xlj. ciss' p' diversis tasch' france pet^e ad taschiā cisse, iiij^u xvj^e vj^e. It' Rog' de T'ri p' iiij. orbilons xxxiiij. sol'. It' p' ij. clavibz et viij. capitrel' cū mm. c. lxxvj. ped' de asselers ad tasch', iiij^u ij^e vij^e ob'. It' p' tasch' xxxiiij. marmor' p' iiij. Ebd' ad tasch' c'ca marmor, xj^u xvij^e.

It' debent' Agn' calf', xl^e.

It' p' mmmm. v^e pond' crete cissis ad tasch', xij^e. It' p' mmmm. vj^e france pet^e, xiiij^u xvj^e. It' Rog' de Reygate p' ix^e et d'i france pet^e, lxj^e ix^e. It' p' ij. navatis grise pet^e, xiiij^u iiij^e. Ric' Calfon' p' vij^e calcis, xxxv^e. Agn' Calf' p' cc. calcis, x^e. It' Will' Porcar' p' vj^e et lx. caretatis sabul', xiiij^u ij^e ob' Ric' de' Estchepe p' ij. duoden' craticul', vj^e. Ric' Ogul' p' vij^e duoden' craticul' cū vurgis, xvij^e vj^e. Ade M'in' p' bordis et lateis, xv^e vij^e. Jacobo Junur p' panell' ad lectū d'ni Regis jungendis et p' tabul' ad Scacariū et aliis tabul' de Sape, lxxvj^e vj^e. Henr' Net p' xj^e. busch', xix^e. Will' Jacobo p' cc. et q^rrtⁿ busch', v^e vij^e ob'. Ric' Cop' p' bokettes, iiij^e. Bened' Meren' p' vecta meremij, v^e. Henr' de Ponte p' q^rrtⁿ de gatis, iiij^e v^e. It' eidē p' xxxij. garbis asseri cū clavis f'ri, xliij^u v^e. Henr' Fab^o p' incude et coreo ad Folles cop'iendos, x^e ij^e. Joh' Sige p' mm. tegul' cu' cavilla, iiij^u iiij^e.

Sum^a empcionū, liij^u x^e ij^e ob'.

Sum^a total' Ebd', iiij^u x^e v^e xj^e x^e ob'.

(8.)^b Ebd' prima post Pentecost' sine festo. In stipendiis xliij. albor' ciss' xvij. marmor' xxvij. cubitor xxxij. carpent' Pet' Pictor' xv. poll' xvij. fabror' xiiij. vit'ar' iiij. plūbat' cū j. s'viente, xix^u xiiij^u x^e. In stipend' cc. et xx minutor' op'ar' cū custodibz cler' et duabz bigis diurnis, xiiij^u viij^u vij^e.

Sum^a stipendior', xxxiiij^u iiij^e v^e.

Emptiones. Pro arreagiis marmor', xv^u xvj^e vij^e. In mm. ccc. et d'i f'nce pet^e, vij^u xij^e. Rog' de Reygate p' v^e et d'i f'nce pet^e, xxxv^e ix^e. It' Ricard' Calfonar' p' v^e et iiij. q^rrt' calc', xxvij^e ix^e. Agnes p' ccc. calc' xv. sol'. It' Ricard' de Estchep', vj^e et ij^e. Ricard' Oggel p' craticl'is, x^e. Ricard' Cunār p' x. bokettis et emendac'o'e utens', iiij^e et vj^e. Henr' de Ponte pro clavis ferri, ix^e d' ob'. Nich' Scot' p' portag' franc' pet^e infra Pent', xiiij^e.

Sm^a Empe'on'm, xxvij^u vj^e xj^e ob'.

Sm^a total' Ebd', lxij^u x^e iiij^e ob'.

(9.) Ebd' ij. 9tinent' festū Sci' Joh'is Bap'e p' diem Mart' qd' est d'ni Reg'. In stip' liij. Albor' cissor' xlix. marmor' xxvij. cubitor' xxvij. carpēt' Pet' Pic'tor' xv. poll' xvij. fab^o xiiij. vit'ar' iiij. plūbat' cū s'viente, xx^u xv^e ob'. It' in stip' cc. et xx. minutor' op'ar' cū custod' et cl'icis et ij. big' diurn' xij^u viij^e.

Sm^a total' stip', xxxij^u xxij^e et ob'.

Empciones p' vij^e. lvj. lothenges lvij. assis' xx. ped' et d'i de p'pen iiij^u. iiij. ped' et d' de folsur' cū filo xxxix. ped' de formell' cclxvij. ped' de Serches c. et vij. ped' de scutis iiij^u v. folsur' chanferite. It' p' v^e ix^e iiij^u asselers ciss' ad tasch' xvj^u xj^e ij^e. p' mmm. vij^e pendentis crete ciss' ad tasch'

^b The 7th week of the roll being Whitsun-week, was omitted, as explained above.

ix^a xj^d p' navata f'nce pet^e de Came, vij^{ll}. It' p' mm. vj^e et iij. q'rt'n france pet^e, viij^{ll} vj^d. Rog' Reygate p' vj^e et d'i pet^e, xlij^a iij^d. Ric' Calf p' v^e calcis, xxv^e. Agn' Calf p' cc. d'i calcis, xij^a vj^d q^a. Mulierē de Ey p' sabul', vj^a. Alan' de Ey p' sabul', vj^a viij^d. Ric' Ogul' p' v'gis, x^a. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis fri, xvj^a iij^d ob. Peki' p' ceruris, xxij^d. Sum' Empcionū, xxxviij^{ll} iij^a vj^d ob'.

Sum^a total' Ebd', lxx^{ll} v^a x^d.

(10.) Ebd' iij^a sine festo. In stipend' lvj. albor' cissor' xlix. marmor' xxviij. cubitor' xxij. carpent' j. Pictor' Ade Dealbator cū s'vient' xv. poll' xvij. fab'ror' xiiij. vit'ar' iijj. plūbar' cū s'vient' xix^{ll} iij^a. It' in stipend' cc. et xx. minutor' cū custod' et cler' et ij. bigis durnia, xij^{ll} viij^a.

Sum^a stipend', xxxj^{ll} xj^a.

Emptiones p' stipend' plūbator' p' vj. ebd', lxxj^a. In mm. et iij. q'rt'n f'nce pet^e, vj^{ll} iijj^a vj^d. Rog' Reygate, p' vj^e pet^e, xxxix^a. p' mmmm. et ix^e crete ad pendentia, xxix^a iijj^d ob'. p' ij. navat' grise pet^e, xij^a vj^d. Ric' Calf p' cccc. et d'i calcis xxij^a vj^d. Agn' Calf p' ccc. et d'i calcis, xviij^a vj^d. Ric' Estchepe p' v'gis et craticul', vj^a. Ric' Ogul' p' craticul' et virgis, xiiij^a. vj^d. Carbonar' p' carbone, xij^a iijj^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis fri, vj^a iijj^d. Laur' Vit'ar' p' ij. sum' vit' color' et j. sum' albi, xxx^a. Rog' Borser p' vij sum' vit' color' lxxviij^a. Richer' de C'ce p' ij. pet's de marmor' pol . . . , vj^a. Magro' Odon' p' liv'io ad loges, ij^a viij^d.

Sum' Empcionū, xxiiij^{ll} viij^a ij^d ob'.

S^a total' ebd', liiij^{ll} xvij^a ij^d ob'.

(11.) Ebd' iijj^a cōtin' festū bi' Thom' Martiris p' diē Lune quod est cem^t. In stipend' lx. albor' ciss' xlix. marmor' xiiij. cubitor' xxj. carpent' Joh' cū carpent' et s'viente ap'd S'c'm Alban' Pet' Pictor' xv. poll' xvij. fab' xijj. vit'ar' iijj. plūbat' cū vij. s'vient', xxj^{ll} v^a. iij^d ob'. In stipend' cc. et xv. minutor' op'ar' cū custod' cler' et ij. big' diurnis, xj^{ll} xvij^a x^d ob'.

Sum^a stipendior', xxxiiij^{ll} iij^a ij^d.

Emptiones p' diversis modis france pet^e ad tasch' ciss', viij^{ll} xj^a x^d. It' p' div'ais modis marmoris ad tasch' ciss', xxiiij^{ll} vj^d. It' p' mm. vj^e et iij. q'rt' f'nce pet^e, viij^{ll} vj^a vj^d. It' Rog' Reygate p' m. c. et iij. q'rt' france pet^e, calcis, v^a. Ric' Estchepe p' v'gis, iij^a. Ric' Ogul' p' craticul' et v'gis, vj^a vj^d. lxxvj^a iijj^d ob'. Ric' Calf p' v^e et d'i calcis, xxviij^a vj^d. It' Agn' Cafon' p' c. Ham' v'gator p' carbon', xx^d. It' Henr' de Ponte p' c. ferri, xv^a j^d. It' eidē p' clavis fri, x^a.

Sum' Emptionū, xxv^{ll} ix. sol' ob'.

Sum^a total' Ebd', lvij^{ll} xij^a ij^d ob'.

(12.) Ebd' v^a sine festo. In stipend' lx. albor' ciss' xlix. marmor' xiiij. cubitor' xvj. carpent' Joh' cū carpent' et s'vente ap'd S'c'm Alban' Pet' Pictor' xv. poll' xvij. fab' vj. vit'ar' iijj. plūbator' cū vij. s'vient' xxj^{ll} v^a iij^d ob'. In stipend' cc. et xv. minutor' op'ar' cū custod' cler' ij. bigis diurnis, xiiij^{ll} xix^a vj^d ob'.

Sum^a stipend', xxxv^{ll} iij^a et x^d.

Emptiones. Joh' Benet p' iij. capit'ill', iij^d. It' p' mmmm. v^e et xxviii. ped' de Asselers ciss' ad tasch', cxliij^d ob'. It' p' mmm. cccc. et iij. q^{rt}n f^{nce} pet^e, xⁱⁱ viij^e vj^d. Rog' Reygate p' vij^e et iij. q^{rt}n pet^e, l' iiiij^d ob'. Ric' Calf p' v^e et d'i calcis xxvij^e vj^d. Agn' p' d'i c. calcis, ij^e vj^d. Ric' de Estchep' p' v^egis et craticul', v^e x^d. Ric' Ogul p' v. duodenis craticul', xij^e vj^d. Ade Merenemio p' v^e liteis, l'. It' Rog' de Berkig' p' ij. caretatis carbonis, iiiij^e iij^d. David clerico p' v. caret' carbon', x^d. It' Henr' de Ponte p' clavis f^{ri} ad plübū, xij^e ix^d. It' eidē p' cera et pice ad cem't, xv^d. Joh' Sige p' xvij^e tegular' cū cariagio, xxxix^e iiiij^d.

Sum^a emptionū, xxvjⁱⁱ xv^d d'.

S^a total' ebd', lxijⁱⁱ.

(13.) Ebd' vj^e cont' festū Magdalene p' diē M^{rtis} quod est d'ni Regis, et festū b'i Jacobi p' die Ven'is quod est cem't.

In stipend' lxxvj. albor' ciss' xlix. marmor' xliij. cubitor' xvj. carpent' Joh' cū carpent' et s'viente ap'd S'c'm Alban' Pet' Pictor' xv. poll' xvij. fab^{or} vj. vit'ar' iiiij. plūbat' cū vj. s'vient', xxijⁱⁱ. In stipend' c. et xl. minutor' op'ar' cū j. biga diurna custod' cler', vijⁱⁱ ix^d.

S^a stipend', xxixⁱⁱ ix^d.

Emptiones. In div'sis modis france pet^e ad tasch' cisse, cxix^e iij^d ob'. It' in div'sis modis marmor' ad tasch' cissi, xxij^e ix^d. mmm. et c. france pet^e, vjⁱⁱ vj^d. It' Rog' Reygate p' ccc. et d'i pet^e, xxij^e ix^d. Agn' p' c. calc', v^e. Ricard' Calfon' p' iiiij^e, xx^d. Rad' Bleur p' iij. caret' carbon', vj^e vj^d. Ricard' Cupar' p' utens' emend', xij^d. Ricard' de Celar' p' v^e iiiij^e iiiij. charg' ferri de Glov'nia, xⁱⁱ xvj^e. It' p' cariag' d'c'i ferri, vj^e iiiij^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ad Ecc'am et Berefridiū, x^d ob'.

Sm^a Emp'conū, xxvijⁱⁱ vj^e d'.

Sm^a total' ebd', lvijⁱⁱ xv^d j^d.

(14.) Ebd' vij^e 9tin' festū b'i Pet' Advincula p' diē Ven'is quod est d'ni Regis. In stipend' lxxvij. albor' ciss', xlix. marmor' xliij. cubitor' xvj. carpent' Joh' ap'd S'c'm Alban' c'ca lect'n cū carpent' et s'viente Pet' Pictor' xv. poll' xvj. fab^{or} vj. vit'ar' iiiij. plūbator' cū vj. s'vient' cū custod' et cler', xvijⁱⁱ xj^e v^d. In stipend' vj^{xx} et xij. op'ar' cū biga, vijⁱⁱ ij^d ob'.

Sum^a stipend', xxvⁱⁱ xj^e vij^d ob'.

Emptiones m'. de xijⁱⁱ ij^e et xj^d debit' p' marmor'. In iij. navat' marmor' xxvijⁱⁱ iij^e vj^d. In mm. ix^e et iij. q^{rt}n f^{nce} pet^e, vijⁱⁱ xvij^e vj^d. Rog' Reygate p' vij^e pet^e, lij^e. Ric' Calf p' cccc. et d'i calcis xxij^e vj^d. Agn' p' c. et d'i calcis, vij^e vj^d. Ric' Estchepe p' virgis, vj^e vij^d. Rob' Cofere p' ceruris, ix^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis f^{ri} ad nundin' Westm', xxxliij^e xj^d.

S^a Empcion', xliijⁱⁱ v^e vj^d.

S^a total' ebd', lxvijⁱⁱ xvij^e d' ob'.

(15.) Ebd' vij^e sine festo. In stipend' lxxvij. albor' ciss' xlix. marmor' xliij^e cubitor' xvj. carpent' cū l. ap'd S'c'm Alban' cū s'viente Pet' Pictoris xv. pollisor' xvj. fab^{or} vj. vit'ar' iiiij^e Plūbator' cū vj. s'vient' et cū custod' et cler', xixⁱⁱ xix^e vij^d. In stipend' vj^{xx} xv. op'ar' cū biga diurna, vijⁱⁱ x^d ix^d.

S^a total' stipend', xxvijⁱⁱ x^e iiiij^d.

Emptiones p' diversis modis f'nce pet' ad tasch' cisse, viij^{li} xiiij^{li} iiij^d. It' p' tasch' int'it' capituli, l'. It' p' div'sis modis marmor' ad tasch' ciss', xl' ij^d. It' p' iiij^{or} pis' iiij^s. It' p' navat' pet' de Came, xij^{li} vj^s. It' p' mm. ccc. et j. q'rt' france pet', vj^{li} x' vj^d. Rog'o Reygate p' vj^s et ij. q'rt'n pet', xliij^s x^d ob'. Ric' Calf' p' cccc. et q'rt'n calcis, xxj^s iiij^d. Ledulfo p' m. bord' c'. Walt'o Box p' xij^{cl} chareis plūbi cū portagio vect'a et pesagio, xxvj^{li} xij^s. Henr' de Ponte p' assero clavis cera et pice, xlix^s ij^d p' mmm. cavillar', vj^d.

Sum^a emptionū, lxx^{li} xij^s ij^d ob'.

Sum^a total' Ebd', iiij^{xx}xix^{li} xvij^s vj^d ob'.

(16.) Ebd' prima post Pacacionē stipendior' p' viij^{to} Ebd' contin' festū Assūptio'is b'e Marie p' diē Ven'is quod est cem't'. In stipend' lxviij. albor' ciss' xlix. marmor' xiiij^{cl} cubitor' xvj. carpent' cū I. ap'd S'o'm Alban' cū s'viente Pet' Pictor' Ade Dealbator' cū s'viente xv^{cl}, poll' xvj^{cl} fab^{or} duo vit'arior' cū cler' et virgator', xiiij^{li} xij^s vj^d. In stipend' vj^{xx}xviiij. minutor' op'ar' cū biga diurna, viij^{li} xviiij^s.

Sum^a stipendior', xxviij^{li} x' vj^d.

Emptiones p' mcc. et ij. q'rt'n f'nce pet', lxxvj^s vj^d. It' Rog' Reygate p' vj^s et d'i pet', xlij^s iiij^d. Ric' Calf' p' cccc. et d'i calcis, xxij^s vj^d. Will' Porcario p' m. caretatis sabul' sedend' et cariad' ad tasch', xxj^s vij^d. Ric' Eschepe p' craticul', ij^s vij^d. Will' Jacob' p' q'rt'n busch', ix^d, p' ij. caretatis carbon', ij^s ij^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ferri, vij^s vij^d ob'.

S^a empcion', viij^{li} xviiij^s.

Sm^a Ebd', xxxvj^{li} viij^s v^d ob'.

(17.) Ebd' ij^s sine festo. In stipend' lxviij. albor' cissor' xlix. marm' xliij. cubitor' xvj. carpentar' cū Joh'e ap'd S'c'm Albanū cū serviente Petro Pictore Ada Dealbatore cū s'viente xv. poll' xvj. fabror' ij. vit'ar' cū cl'icis et virgator', xviiij^{li} xij^s et vj^d. In stip' vj^{xx}xviiij. minutor' op'ar' cū biga diurna, viij^{li} vij^s vj^d.

Sm^a total' stip', xxviij^{li} ij^s viij^d.

Empcion'es. In div'sis tasch' france petre et marmoris, xiiij^{li} xj^s ix^d ob'. In m. ix^s et dim' france petre, cxvij. sol. In v^s france pet' de Reygate, xxxij^s vj^d. Ricard' Calfonar' p' v^s calo', xxv^s. Agn' p' c. et dim' calo', vij^s vj^d. Ricard' de Estchep' p' craticl'is, xxviij^d. Ricard' Oggel p' c'aticl'is, ij^s. Nicol' Duket p' nav' carbon' xv. sol' Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ferri, xx' iiij^d ob'.

Sm^a empcion'um, xxiiij^{li} xiiij^s v^d.

Sm^a total' Ebd', ljj^{li} xviiij^s j^d.

(18.) Ebd' ij. continent' Festū Decollaco'is S'ci Joh' Bape' p' d'ie Ven'is q'd est d'ni Reg'. In stipend' xlix. albor' cissor' xxxj. marm' xliij. cubitor' xliij. carpentar' mag' I. cū s'vient' mag' Pet' j. Dealbator' cū s'vient' xv. poll'is xviiij. fab^{or} ij. vit'arior', xiiij^{li} xv^s viij^d ob'. It' in stip' iiij^{xx} et xj. minutor' op'ar' cū custod' et cl'icis et j. biga diurna c. et vj^s viij^d ob'.

Sm^a total' stipend', xix^{li} ij^s et v^d.

Emptiones. In m. v^e et dim' franc' pet^e, iiij^u xij^s. Roger' de Reygate p' ij^e et dim' franc' pet^e, xvj^s vj^d. Ricard' Calfonar' p' iiij^e et dim' calc', xxij^s vj^d.

Sum^a emptionū, vj^u xij^s.

S^a ebd', xxv^u xiiij^s v^d.

(19.) Ebd' iiij^s sine festo. In stipend' xlix. albor' ciss' xxxj. marmor' xij. cubitor' xij. carpent' magr' I. cū s'viente ap'd S'c'm Alban' P. Pictor' A. de albator' cū s'viente xv. poll' xvij. fab^{or} ij. vit'ar' custod' cū cler' xv^u vj^s ij^d. In stipend' iiij^s xj. minutor' op'ar' cū biga diurna c. et xv^s ix^d.

S^a stipend', xxj^u xxij^s.

Emptiones. In div'sis modis france pet^e ad tasch' cisse, vj^u xv^d ob'. In div'sis modis marmoris ad tasch' cissi, lxv^s ix^d ob'. It' p' ix^e et iij. q^rrt'n france pet^e, lvij^s vj^d. It' Rog' Reygate p' v^e et q^rrt'n, xxxiiij^s d' ob'. Ric' Calfon' p' cc. et d'i calcis, xij^s vj^d. Ric' Estchepe p' c'ticul', iij^s iij^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis f'ri ad ecc'am et beref', xiiij^s iij^d.

S^a tasch', ix^u vij^s ob'.

S^a emptionū, vj^u iij^s viij^d ob'.

S^a Ebd', xxxvj^u xj^s vij^d ob'.

(20.) Ebd' v^e 9tin' festū Nativitatis b'e Marie p' diē Lune quod est cem't'. In stipend' xlix. albor' ciss' xv. marmor' xij. cubitor' xij. carpent' magr' I. cū s'viente Pet' Pictor' A. Dealb' cū s'viente xv. poll' xvij. fabror' ij. vit'ar' cū custod' et cler', xv^u. In stipend' iiij^s xj. minutor' op'ar' cū biga diurna iiij^u xij^s ix^d.

S^a stipend', xix^u xij^s ix^d.

Emptiones p' vij^e et d'i f'nce pet^e, xlv^s. Rog'o Reygat' p' c. et iij. q^rrt'n pet^e, xj^s iiij^d ob'. Will' de Came p' v^e esselers, xj^s xj^d. Ric' Calf' p' iiij^e calcis, xx^s. Ric' Estchep' p' virgis, ij^s viij^d ob'. Ham' p' ij. carecatis carbon', v^s vj^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis f'ri ad ecc'am et berefridā, ix^s viij^d.

S^a emptionū, v^u xvj^d.

Sum^a Ebd' xxv^u iiij^s.

(21.) Ebd' vj^s sine festo. In stipend' lvj. albor' ciss' xv. marmor' xxij. cubitor' xij. carpent' I. ap'd S'c'm Alban' cū serviente Pet' Pictor' A. Dealbator' cū s'viente xv. poll' xvij. fab^{or} ij. vit'ar' cū custod' et cler', xvij^u. In stipend' cvij. minutor' op'ar' cū biga diurna, vj^u xvij^s.

Sum^a stipend', xxij^u xvij^s.

Emptiones. In div'sis modis f'nce pet^e ad tasch' cisse, vj^u v^s x^d. In div'sis modis marmoris ad tasch' ciss', iiij^u vij^s x^d ob'. p' f'cto navatis marmor', lxvj^s viij^d. It' in m. v^e f'nce pet^e, iiij^u xvj^s. Rog' Reygat' p' ccc. france pet^e, xix^s vj^d. It' R. p' cccc. et d'i calcis, xxij^s vj^d. It' Ade Meren' p' bordis et lateis, xxij^s vj^d. P' portagio busch', ij^s vj^d pac'. Ric' Estchepe p' v'gis, vij^s ij^d. Ric' Cuner' p' bokettis, iij^s ij^d. It' p' v. caretatis carbon', xij^s viij^d. It' Joh' de Gisors p' xxvij. chareis et xv^u plūbi cū portagio pesagio, lxij^u x^s vj^d. It' p' vect'a et portagio ap'd Westm', vij^s ij^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis Ecc'e et beref', xix^s ix^d ob'. Will' de Aq' p' tasso st'minis, viij^s.

Sum^a emptionū sin' freto marmor', iiij^s et v^u iij^s viij^d.

Sum^a total' Ebd', cix^u viij^s.

In a Schedule attached to the Roll.

Magr' I. de Ox' R. de Bremel'. Salut' et amoris dulcedinem. Mitto vob'. una' marmoris navatâ p' Will' de la Lake latorê p'senc' cui h're faciatis p' frecto vij. m' et dimid' p' . . . Sciatis ip'm p'mptu' eê et paratu' ad obsequiû dn'i Reg' un' ai placz q' scici' pot'itis . . . frect' pagat' Valt' sp' in D'no—Dist'ngatis illû fide mediante it'û redeundi.

(22.) Ebd' vij^a sine festo. In stipend' lvijj. albor' ciss' xiiij. marmor' xxvj. cubitor' xijj. carpent' I. ap'd S'c'û Alban' cû s'viente Pet' Pictor' A. Dealbat' cû s'vient' xv. poll' xvijj. fab'or' iij. vit'ar' cû custod' et cler', xvij^u vij^a. In stipend' vj^{xx} minutor' op'ar' cû biga diurna, vij^u xij^a d'.

Sum^a stipend', xxiiij^u xix^a d'.

Emptiones p' m. viij^e et q'rt'n f'nce pet' c. et ix^a vj^d. It' Rog' de Reygate p' vij^e et d'i f'nce pet', xlv^a vj^d p' ij. navat' marmor' It' Ric' Calf' p' cccc. et iij. q'rt'n calcia, xxij^a ix^d. It' Ric' Ogul' p' craticul' et virgis, xx^a. Ric' miner' p' utensilib', ij^a. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ecc'e et boref' cû cera et pice, xij^a ij^d ob'.

S^a empcionû, x^u xij^a xj^d ob'.

S^a Ebd' xxxv^u xij^a ob'.

(23.) Ebd' viij^a 9tin' festû b'i Mich' p' diê Lune quod est d'ni Regis. In stip' lx. albor' cissor' xiiij. marm' xxxj. cubit' xiiij. carpent' I. ap'd S'c'm Albanû Pet' Pictor' Ade Dealbator' cû s'vient' xv. poll'is xvijj. fab'or' iij. vit'ar' cû custod' et cl'icia, xv^u xv^a ix^d ob'. In stipend' vij^{xx} xv. minutor' op'ar' cû ij. bigis diurn', vij^u iij^a ix^d ob'.

Sm^a total' stipend', xxiiij^u vij^d.

Emptiones. In div'sis modis france pet' ad tasch' cisse, xj^u xvij^d ob'. It'm in div'sis modis marmoris ad tasch' cissi, lxxv^a iij^d. It' p' m. ccc. et d'i f'nce pet', lxxix^a vj^d. Rog' de Reygate p' ccc. et d'i, xxij^a ix^d. It' Ric' Calf' p' ix^e et q'rt'n calcia, xxxj^a et iij^d. Agn' Calf' p' c. et d'i calcia, vij^a vj^d. It' Ric' de Estchep' p' v'gis, v^a viij^d. It' Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ferri, xvij^a j^d.

S^a empcion', xxiiij^u xvj^a vj^d.

S^a Ebd', xlvij^u xvij^a d' ob'.

(24.) Ebd' ix^a sine festo. In stipend' xlij. albor' cissor' xiiij. marmor' xxxj. cubitor' xiiij. carpent' I. cû s'viente ap'd S'c'm Alban' Pet' Pictor' Ada Dealbator' cû s'viente xv. poll' xvijj. fab'or' iij. vit'ar' cû custod' et cler', xvij^u iij^a x^d. In stip' vij^{xx} et xv. minutor' op'ar' cû vj. bigis diurnis, x^u v^a ix^d.

S^a stipend', xxvij^u ix^a vij^d.

Empciones. In div'sis modis f'nce pet' ad tasch' ciss', vj^u iij^a vij^d. It' p' m. c. et q'rt'n f'nce pet', lxxij^a d' ob'. Rog' de Reygate cc. et q'rt'n pet', xiiij^a vij^d ob'. It' p' navat' france pet' de Came It' p' marmore ap'd Cerne, xvij^u xix^a ob'. It' p' navat' Grise pet', v^a ix^d. It' mag'ro Will' de Waz p' p'stito, xv^a vj^d. It' Ric' Calf' p' vij^e calcia, xxx^a. It' Agn' Calf', p' cc. calcia, x^a. It' Will' Porcar' p' m. vj^e et d'i c. sabulonis, xxxv^a viij^d. It'

Mauric' de Aq' p' meremio, iiij^u xij^a iiij^d. Ric' Eschepe p' v'gia, iij^a d'. Ric' Ogul p' v. duod' craticul', xij^a vj^d. It' Pekin p' em'd de ceruris, xx^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis, iiij^a vj^d ob'.

Sum^a empcionū, xlj^u xv^a vj^d.

Sum^a total Ebd', lxix^u xv^a d'.

(25.) Ebd' x^a contin' festū Tⁿslationis b'i Edward' p' diē Lune quod cem't . . . b'i Luce Evangeliste p' diē Sab' quod est d'ni Regis. In stipend' lvijj. albor' ciss' xxvj. marmor' xxxiij. cubitor' xv. carpent' I. cū s'viente ap'd S'e'm Alban' P. Pictor' Ade Dealbat' cū s'viente xvj. poll' xvijj. fab^{or} iij. vit'ar' j. plūbat' cū custod' et cler', xvj^u v^a. In stipend' vij^{xx} et xvijj. minutor' op'ar' cū vj. big' diurn' vijj^u.

S^a stipend' xxijj^u v^a.

Emptiones. Mag'ro Alb'co p' tasch' form', vj^u x^d. In div'sis modis f'nce pet^a ciss' ad tasch', lxxj^a iij^d. It' in div'sis modis marmor' ad tasch' ciss' iiij^u xij^a d'. It' p' m. cc. et q'rt'n f'nce pet^a, lxxix^a vij^d ob'. Rog' de Reygate p' ccc. pet^a, xix^a vj^d. It' p' pet^a de q'r Regis p' c. et q'r, vijj^a ix^d. Ric' Calf p' vj^a et d'i calcia, xxij^a vj^d. Agn' Calf p' ccc. calcia, xv^a. Ric' Estchepe p' virgis, v^a vij^d. Ric' Ogul p' duoden' et d'i craticul', iij^a ix^d. Ric' Cunar' p' d'i duod' boketis, xxv^d p' v. caret' carbon', xijj^a vijj^d. It' Will' Plūbar' p' tasch' beref', x^d. Rog' Plūbar' p' tasch' beref', c. et xijj^a iiij^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis ad ecc'am et beref', xij^a ij^d.

Sum^a emptionū, xxxijj^u x^d ob'.

S^a ebd', lxijj^u xv^a x^d ob'.

(26.) Ebd' xj^a sine festo. In stipend' lvijj. albor' ciss' xv^{ci} marmor' xxxiijj. cubitor' xiiij. carpent' cū I. et s'vn't ap'd S'e'm Alban' P. Pictor' dealbator' cū s'viente xv. poll' xvijj. fab^{or} ij. vit'ar' j. plūbar' cū s'viente cū v'gator' et cler', xix^u iiij^d. It' in stipend' vij^{xx} et xvij. op'ar' cū vj. bigis diurna', x^u vijj^a iiij^d.

S^a stip', xxix^u vijj^a vijj^d.

Empciones. In div'sis modis f'nce pet^a ad tasch' ciss', lxxijj^a v^d ob'. It' p' vijj^a iij. q'rt'n f'nce pet^a, lvj^a iiij^d ob' de q'r' d'ni Regis iij. q'rt'n, v^a iij^d. Rog' Reygate p' cc. pet^a, xijj^a. Ric' Calf p' v^a et q'rt'n calcia, xxvj^a iij^d. Agnes Calf p. ccc. calcia, xv^a. Ric' Estchepe p' v'gis, vj^a x^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis Ecc'e et beref', xx^a d' ob'.

Sum^a emptionū, x^u x^a iij^d ob'.

Sum^a total' Ebd', xxxix^u xix^a.

(27.) Ebd' xij^a contin' festū Apostolor' Sim' et Jude quod est d'ni Regis anno Regni Regis Henr' xxxvijj^o Incipiente et festū O'ium Scor' p' diē Sab' quod est cem't. In stipend' lvijj. albor' ciss' xv^{ci} marmor' xxxiijj. cubitor' xiiij. carpent' cū I. et s'viente suo ap'd S'e'm Alban' P. Pictor' dealbator' cū s'viente xv. poll' xvijj. fab^{or} ij. vit'ar' plūbator' cū s'viente iijj. v'gator' cū cler', xvijj^u x^a. In stipend' vij^{xx} op'ar' cū vj. bigis diurnis, ix^u vijj^a.

S^a stipend', xxvijj^u xvijj^a.

Empciones. In div'sis modis f'nce pet^a ad tasch' cisse cū creta ad penden-cia, iiij^u xvj^a iiij^d. In div'sis modis marmoris ad tasch' ciss', lxix^a ob'. It' de

q'reria d'ni Regis c. et q'r't'n france pet^s, viij^s ix^d. It' Rog' Reygate p' cc. et q'r't'n pet^s, xiiij^s vij^d ob'. It' p' vij^s france pet^s, xlv^s vj^d. It' Ric' Calf p' cccc. calcis, xx^s. Agn' Calf p' d'i c. calcis, ij^s vj^d. Ric' Estchepe p' craticul', vij^s viij^d. Ric' Ogul p' vj. duoden' craticul', xviij^s vj^d p' vect'ra meremii, x^s. Ham' p' carbon', iij^s iij^d. Henr' de Ponte p' clavis f'ri, iij^s iij^d.

S^a empcion', xiiij^s ix^s vij^d.

S^a Ebd', xlij^s vij^s vj^d.

(28.) Ebd' prima post festū Om'n'm Scor' sine festo grossa stipendia albor' cissor' solēt decrescere. In stipend' lvij. albor' ciss' xj. marmor' xj. cubitor' xiiij^s carpent' I. ap'd S'e'm Alban' cū s'viente P. Pictor' A. Dealbator' cū s' xvj. poll' xvij. fab^{or} duor' vit'ar' cū cler' et custod', xvij^s. In stipend' vij^s minitor' op'ar' cū iij. bigis diurnis, vij^s xij^s.

Sum' stipend' xxv^s xij^s.

Empciones. In div'sis modis f'nce pet^s et marmor' ad tasch' cissi, iij^s xiiij^s iij^d. It' in occ. et d'i de q'reria d'ni Regis, xxiiij^s vj^d. It' Rog' de Reygate p' cccc. et d'i f'nce pet^s, xxix^s iij^d. It' p' m. ccc. pet^s, iij^s iij^s vj^d. It' Ric' Calf p' c. et d'i calcis, vij^s vj^d. Ric' Estchepe p' v'gis, ix^s vj^d. Ric' Ogul p' iij. duoden' craticul', x^s. Henr' de Ponte p' cepo et uncto, ij^s iij^d.

S^a emptionū, xiiij^s xxij^s.

S^a ebd', xxxviij^s xiiij^s x^d.

(29.) Ebd' ij^s contin' festū b'i Martini p' diē Martis quod est d'ni Regis. In stipend' xxxiiij. albor' ciss' vij. marmor' v. asseditor' ix. carpent' I. cū s'viente ap'd S'e'm Alban' P. Pictor' xij. fab^{or} ij. vit'ar' iij. v'gator' cū iij. cler', viij^s iij^s iij^d ob'.

It' in stipend' xxx. minutor' op'ar' cū duabz bigis diurnis, xxx^s.

Sum' stipend', ix^s xvij^s iij^s ob'.

Empciones. Rog' Plūbario p' charea plūbi ult^a porticū Eco'e ad tasch' op'ati, xj^s x^d. It' p' ix^s et d'i f'nce pet^s, loj^s ix^d p' d'i c. pet^s d'ni Regis, iij^s vj^d. Rog' Reygate p' cccc. et q'r't'n pet^s, xxviij^s vij^d ob'. Ric' Estchepe p' v'gis, iij^s. Henr' de Ponte p' Oleo et venia, ij^s iij^d ob'. Ham' p' carbone, iij^s.

Sum' emption' c. et xv^s.

Sum' Ebd', xv^s xiiij^s iij^s ob'.

(30.) Ebd' iij^s 9tin' festū b'i Eadm' p' diē Iovis quod est Cem't. In stipend' xxxv. albor' ciss' vij. marmor' v. cubitor' ix^s carpent' Ioh' de S'co Albano cū s'viente mag'ri Pet' pictoris xij. fab^{or} ij. vit'ar' cū custod' et cler', ix^s xvij^s ob'. In stipend' xxxv. op'ar' cū duabz bigis diurnis, xl^s.

Sum' stipend'ior', xj^s xvij^s ob'.

Emptiones xxvj. tasch' p' div'so modo f'nce pet^s ad tasch' cisse, cij^s v^d. It' vj. marmor' p' div'se modo marmor' ad tasch' ciss', xxxj^s x^d. It' de q'reria Regis p' d'i c. pet^s, iij^s vj^d. Roger' Reygate p' ccc. pet^s, xix^s vj^d. It' p' vj^s et iij. q'r't'n pet^s, xliij^s x^d ob'. It' Ric' Ogul p' ij. duoden' craticul', v^s. Henr' de Ponte p' cera pice et carbone marino, v^s j^d.

S^a emption', x^s xj^s ij^s ob'.

S^a total' Ebd', xxij^s ix^s iij^d.

(31.) Ebd' iij^a 9tin' festū S'ce Katerine p' diē M'rtis quod est d'ni Regis. In stipend' xxxv. albor' cissor' vij. marmor' iij. cubitor' ix^o carpent' I. ap'd S'c'm Alban' cū s'viente mag'rī Pet' Pictoris xij. fab^o ij. vit'ar' ij. plūb' cū s'vientibz cū cler' et iij. custod', viij^u xj'. In stipend' xxxvij. op'ar' cū ij. bigis diurnis, xlj' x^d ob'.

Sm^a total' stipend', x^u xij' x^d ob'.

Emptiones. In mcc. crete ad tasch' cisse, ij^a vj^d. It' de q'reria Regis p', q'rt'n, xxj^d. Rog' de Reygate p' cccc. et q'rt'n pet', xxvij' vij^d ob'. It' p' m. c. et q'rt'n pet', lxxij^a d' ob'. Ric' Estchepe p' v'gis, iij' x^d. It' Henr' de Ponte p' assero et clavis f'ri ad baref, vj^a vij^d ob'.

S^a empcionū, cxv' v^d ob'.

S^a total' ebd', xvj^u viij' iijj^d.

(32.) Ebd' v^a contin' festū b'i Nich' p' diē Sab' quod est cem't. In stipend' xxxv. albor' cissor' vij. marm' iij. cub' ix. carp' Joh' ap'd S'c'm Albanū cū s'viente mag'rī Pet' xij. fab^o ij. vit'ar' ij. plumb' cū s'vient' custod' et cl'ic', viij^u xvij^a. In stip' xxxvij. minutor' op'ar' cū ij. big', xlj' x^d ob'.

Sm^a stipend', x^u xix' x^d ob'.

Emptiones. De quarr' d'ni Reg' p' iij. q'rt' franc' pet', iij^a x^d ob'. Roger' de Reygate p' ccc. et dim' franc' pet', xxij' ix^d. It' p' ix' et q'rt' franc' pet', lx' d' ob'. It' Henr' de Ponte p' carbon' marin', x^d.

(*In dorso*) m^d q'd die Iovis an' festū decollaco'is b'i Joh'is de Mag'ro Joh' le Scul' xxxij^a f'ri. It' d'cs Joh' le Somnt' recepit eodē d' de ballivis d'ni Regis mmmcc. metalli. It' restāt in deposito cc. et fere d'i cupri.

(*In dorso*) m^d q'd Ebd' iijj^a Die m'rtis in c'stino b'i Thom' martiris mag'r Alb'cus cū iij. sociis incepit tasch iij. fovar'.

(*In dorso*) m^d q'd die Lune in c'stino b'i Barth' inceperūt op'ari in q'reria d'ni Regis.

(*In dorso.*) Hec est lib'atio vit' f'ca Mag'ro Henr' die Lune post. Ad vincula b'i Pet' a r' R' H. xxxvij^a videlic' ij. Sum^a vitri colorati preciū summe xij^a et ij. Sum^a vitri albi preciū summe, vj^a. Sum^a den' xxxvj^a de quibz tenet' respondere. In taschia fenestrarū sic taxata p' pede op'ato vit' colorati viij^a p' pede op'ato vit' albi iijj^d.

It' d' m'rtis in c'stino Nat' b'e Mar' eidē Henr' vj. pile vit' color' p'ciū, iijj^d. It' eidē ij. sum' vit' albi xij^a d'i sum' vit' color' p' vj^a.

SUMMARY.

Week.	Stipend.			Emptiones.			Total.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1	21	8	0	27	12	4	49	0	4
2	25	7	3	27	12	10½	53	0	1½
3	30	14	10	31	14	5	62	9	3
4	32	4	1	20	16	3½	53	0	4½
5	30	11	7	28	1	2	58	12	9
6	33	1	8	52	10	2½	85	11	10½
S==total. Pasch. usq ^u vigil Pent. p' 6 Eb- dom. 3617. 14s. 8½d.									
8	34	3	5	28	6	11½	62	10	4½
9	32	1	11½	38	3	6½	70	5	10
10	31	11	0	23	7	2½	54	18	2½
11	33	3	2	25	9	0½	58	12	2½
12	35	4	10	26	15	1	62	0	0
13	29	9	0	28	6	1	57	15	1
14	25	11	7½	42	5	6	67	17	1½
15	28	10	4	70	12	2½	99	18	6½
16	27	10	6	8	18	0	36	8	5½
17	27	3	8	24	14	5	51	18	1
18	19	2	5	6	12	0	25	14	5
19	21	1	11	* { 9 7 0½ 6 3 8½ }			36	11	7½
20	19	13	9	5	1	4	25	0	4
21	23	17	0	85	3	8	109	0	8
22	24	19	1	10	12	11½	35	12	0½
23	24	0	7	23	16	6	47	17	1½
24	23	9	7	41	15	6	69	15	1
25	23	5	0	33	0	10½	62	15	10½
26	29	8	8	10	10	3½	39	19	0
27	27	18	0	14	9	7	42	7	7
28	25	12	0	13	1	10	38	13	10
29	9	18	4½	5	15	0	15	13	4½
30	11	18	0½	10	11	2½	22	9	3
31	10	12	10½	5	15	5½	16	8	4
32	10	19	10½	(+ 4 17 0)			(+ 15 16 10½)		
	696	8	7	791	19	3½	1,587	18	0½

* Tasch Empt.

+ (Not inserted in roll.)

EXTRACT FROM THE SMALLER ROLL OF 1253.

"Comptor' div'sar' op'acionū, ec'ce, capituli, berefridi et curie Westm' anno
r' R' Henr' xxxvij° op'is incepti viij°.

"Emptiones

"In cc v^{xx} ulnis de canevasio ad fenest'as capituli iiij^{li} vj° iiij^d ob'."

[Compotus diversarum operationum ecclesiæ, capituli, berefridi et curiæ West-
monasteriensis anno regni Regis Henrici xxvii° et operis incepti viii°.

Emptiones

In cc v^{xx} ulnis canevasio ad fenestras capituli iiij^{li} vj° iiij^d ob'.]

This extract from the smaller roll for the same year, with the more full and larger roll already given, is important, on account of the mention of canvas for the windows of the Chapter-house, which shews that these windows were so far completed in 1253 as to require to be enclosed with canvas until the glass was ready for them.

FABRIC ROLLS OF WESTMINSTER.

[IN addition to the foregoing Fabric Roll of 1253, so admirably explained by Professor Willis in a manner which no one else could have done, several other Rolls, or portions of Rolls, relating to this building are extant; but they do not appear to contain any additional information until we come to the following, from the Pipe Roll of the 52nd Henry III. and three following years, which are sufficiently important to be worthy of a place here; and for the convenience of our readers we give abstracts of them in English. It will be observed that the accounts for the church, and those for the King's chambers in his palace adjoining, are so much mixed up together that they cannot now be separated; and that the expenditure going on at Westminster during this period was from £20,000 to £40,000 a-year of our money,—so that the public buildings at Westminster were as expensive then as they are now.]

PIPE ROLL 52 HENRY III. A.D. 1267-8.

ACCOUNT OF THE WORKS OF THE CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER AND THE KING'S HOUSES THERE, from the feast of the Nativity of our Lord in the fifty-first year to the feast of St. Michael in the fifty-second year, by Master Robert de Beverley, mason, and brother Ralph, the convert of the Abbey of Cumbermere, put in the place of Alexander the carpenter and John de Spalding, by the King's writ directed to Adam de Stratton, clerk, warden of the same works, by the view and testimony of the same Adam.

The same renders account of 140*l.* received of the King's Treasury, and of 435*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* received of the issues of the King's seal, and other receipts, making in the whole 1,303*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Works in the great and little hall, and King's chamber.

Paid for free-stone as well from Caen as Reigate, flints, chalk, plaster, lime, windage, buckets, and the carriage of the aforesaid to the works aforesaid, as contained in the particulars delivered into the Treasury, 283*l.* 14*s.* 10½*d.* And in great timber, boards, rafters, as well of oak as of alder, hurdles, laths, rods, grease, glue, and certain other small things used at the said works, with the carriage thereof, 77*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* And in lead, iron, steel, coal, brushwood for making the iron-work, locks, cords, glass, wax, pitch, and other necessities for the glass windows, as well at Havering as at Westminster, and for making

cement, and the carriage thereof, 160*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.* And in hollowed^a (or fluted?) tiles, litter, reeds bought for covering the walls of the works aforesaid, and divers of the King's houses, with their carriage, 11*l.* 9*s.* 9½*d.* And for the wages of certain masons (or plasterers) paving^b before the shrine of Saint Edward; carpenters, painters, plumbers, glaziers, inferior workmen and masons' workmen, carpenters, painters by task work, and expenses of persons sent to divers places on account of the said works, 614*l.* 10*s.* 1½*d.*

PIPE ROLL 53 HENRY III. No ENTRY.

PIPE ROLL 54 HENRY III. A.D. 1269-70.

ACCOUNT OF WORKS AT THE CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER AND THE KING'S HOUSES THERE, from Christmas in this year to the feast of the Purification of the Virgin in the fifty-fifth year.

He renders account of 487*l.* 2*s.* 3½*d.* received from the King's Treasury, and other sums, making a total of 1,361*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.*

And in marble, free-stone as well from Caen as from Reigate, flints, plaster, chalk, carriage of the aforesaid, windage, and other necessities for the same works, as is contained in the particulars delivered into the Treasury, 458*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.* And in great timber, boards, rafters, as well of oak as of alder, laths, hurdles, rods, grease, glue, and other small necessary things for the said works, as in the said particulars, 53*l.* 15*s.* 11½*d.* And in lead, iron, steel, coal, brushwood for making the iron-work, locks, cords, glass, wax, pitch, and other necessities for the glass windows, and for making cement, canvas for closing the windows of the aforesaid church, with the carriage thereof, 140*l.* 14*s.* And in hollowed (?) tiles, litter, stubble for covering the walls of the same church, 4*l.* 11*s.* 4½*d.* And in gold in leaf and enamel^c, divers colors, and other necessities for the pictures of the tomb^d in which reposes the body of the blessed Edward, and for the painting of the figures in the said church^e, and in the great chamber of the King, 32*l.* 16*s.* 1½*d.* Wages of masons and other workers, 670*l.* 5*s.* 10½*d.*

PIPE ROLL 55 HENRY III. A.D. 1270-1.

ACCOUNT OF WORKS AT THE CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER, &c., from the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin to the same feast in the fifty-sixth year.

Receipts, 1,196*l.* 19*s.* 5½*d.*

Marble, free-stone, &c., (as before,) 348*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* Timber, &c., (as before,) 25*l.* 11*s.* 3½*d.* Lead, &c., (as before,) 197*l.* 10*s.* 4½*d.* Tiles, &c., (as before,) 7*l.* 15*s.* 4½*d.* Gold, in leaf, and divers colours, and other smaller necessities for the painting of the images in the said church and the King's great chamber, 17*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.* Wages of workmen, 698*l.* 0*s.* 10½*d.*

PIPE ROLL 56 HENRY III. A.D. 1271-2.

ACCOUNT OF THE WORKS OF THE CHURCH AT WESTMINSTER AND THE KING'S HOUSES THERE, from the feast of the Purification of the Virgin in this year

^a "canillis."

^b "cementariorum pavatorum."

^c "admallis."

^d "c'apsc."

^e "ad picturas imaginum."

to the feast of St. Edmund the King and Martyr (November 20) next following, before the King was buried; by Master Robert de Beverley, mason, and by the view of Adam de Stratton, clerk of the Exchequer.

Receipts 1,212*l.* 1*s.* 0½*d.*, (from various sources, as before).

And in marble, free-stone as well from Caen as Reigate, flints, &c., (as before,) 205*l.* 6*s.* 10½*d.* Timber, &c., (as before,) 13*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* Lead, &c., (as before,) including glass and other necessities for the glass windows, as well for the houses as for the church aforesaid, 20*l.* 13*s.* 3½*d.* Tiles, &c., (as before,) 8*l.* 5*s.* And for three wooden angels made by task-work and placed in the aforesaid church, 20*s.* And for wages of certain pavior masons making the pavements before various altars in the said church, carpenters, painters, and other workmen, "and of a certain workman making a clock by task-work," 648*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*

PIPE ROLL 1 EDWARD I. NO ENTRY.

[The next accounts which appear to be important for the illustration of the architectural history of the building are those of the middle of the fourteenth century, 15 Edward III., 1342, and subsequent years, which fix the date of one side of the cloisters. Like most of the building accounts of that period, they contain a great deal of incidental information, often of an amusing character also. The walls of the old Norman nave were not taken down until 1388, as appears from a payment to "three labourers for taking down the walls of the old church" in that year.]

ACCOUNT OF "THE NEW WORK OF THE OLD CHURCH" OF WESTMINSTER, 15 EDWARD III. (1342).

Four stones bought for making capitals, 2*s.*

301 quarters of iron bought at London for making the windows of the church, 11*s.* 4*d.*

Wages of a mason for repairing bays of windows for one week, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Making 4 stone capitals, 2*s.* 8*d.*, each 8*d.*

Hire of a mason for 1½*d.* a-day for placing said capitals and repairing columns, 7½*d.*

3½ cwt. (300½) of slacked lime for whitening the walls and making mortar, 11*s.* 8*d.*

To plasterers for plastering and whitening the moiety of the said church by special agreement, 40*s.*

One carter hired for a day to carry sand for them, 6*d.*

Wages of a smith making the iron-work for four windows, 8*s.* 6*d.*

4 barrels bought for making laths for staying the rafters, 4*s.* 4*d.*

11 corbels of stone bought, 5*s.* 4*d.*

Wages of 2 masons clearing drains, and making and placing the said corbels, 21 days, 10*s.* 6*d.*

' "r' cuj'dā op'arii fac orlogiū ad taschā."

Paid to Walter le Bole, mason, for the repair and making of four windows and one great pillar, by special agreement, 20*l*.

His wages for making parapets, 60*s*.

Dress, boots, gloves, and food found.

ACCOUNT 18 EDWARD III. (1345). Receipts, 30*l*. 10*s*. 8½*d*.

20 marks received from the Abbot for making a cloister.

Payments to masons, and to two other marble masons, 2*s*. 10*d*., (carpenters and tilers in the cloister).

Wages of two bedders of stone, also bread and ale given to the masons; Abbot's men and many others working on Monday that they might better expedite the work on account of water in the foundation, 7½*d*.

Purchase of stones "de Caen," "de coyn," "de gobet."

ACCOUNT OF BROTHER JOHN DE MORDONE FOR THE WORK OF THE NEW CLOISTER, 23 TO 26 EDWARD III. (1350—1353). Receipts, 71*l*. 6*s*. 5*d*.

Wages of two masons from feast of St. Michael to Feb. 23 (21 weeks), 70*s*., when a new agreement was made with them, on account of flesh time, whereby each had 4*d*. a week more, viz. 2*s*. a week from Feb. 23 to Michaelmas. To one of them, as master of the work, 26*s*. 8*d*. over his wages, and for his dress, 13*s*. 4*d*., for two pair of shoes, 3*s*., and to their boy, 12*d*.

Wages of Adam de Wytteneye, a bedder of stone, for 34 weeks, from the feast of the Purification, 66*s*. 8*d*.; his servant, 48*s*.

Wages of a quarrier for same time, 73*s*. 8*d*.; also of boys.

63 cart-loads of stone from the quarry to Battersea, 4*l*. 14*s*. 6*d*.; carriage of same from Battersea to Westminster by water, 7*s*. 10½*d*.; carriage of same from the water to the church, nothing, because in the sacrist's carts, but in expences of those helping to load the carts, 2*s*.

5 cwt. (500) of slacked lime, 33*s*. 4*d*.

2 boat-loads of lime for "waites," 24*s*.

Sawing boards for making girths*, 3*s*.; wages, nails, &c.

200 spike-nails for the scaffold, 14*d*.; 25 others, 5*s*. 2½*d*.

Cement for joining the stones, 6*d*., besides wax from the sacrist.

Making mason's tools for the year, 4*s*. 8*d*.; two bundles of steel for tools for the quarry, 20*d*.; putting on the steel and sharpening the tools. 6*s*.

2 boat-loads of rag (stone), 22*s*.

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR.

60 feet of "logemetz," of rag (stone) bought for the work of the Prior in the cloister, 17*s*. 3*d*.

3 sarcophaguses bought of the parish of St. Margaret, 6*s*. 8*d*.

One bag of lead bought for strengthening the joints of the vaulting, 7*s*.

Total, 21*l*. 18*s*. 10*d*.

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR.

A third mason at work from Nov. 19 to May 28.

* "cinctures."

Wages of a fourth mason from Nov. 24 to Michaelmas, 44 weeks, at 3s. 2d. per week, 6*l.* 19s. 4*d.*; tunics for same.

Three carts hired for two days to carry lime from the chapel of Tothill to Westminster, 7*d.* each per day.

Various necessities for the work,—cement, iron, digging sand in the cloister,—1 man, 1½*d.* a day, making a cincture.

1 bedder of stone hired for a week for the expedition of the vaulting work on account of the danger of frost, 2s. 6*d.*

Total, 61*l.* 10s. 7*d.*

ACCOUNT OF BROTHER JOHN DE MOUDON FOR THE WORK OF THE NEW CLOISTER, from Michaelmas in the twenty-sixth EDWARD III., to same feast in twenty-seventh.

Payments to 4 masons, 2 being occasional, provided with winter dresses beside their own. Head mason's fee 26s. 8*d.*; nothing for his dress this year because he refused to receive it on account of the delay in its delivery.

Total, 64*l.* 19s. 1*d.*

ACCOUNT MICHAELMAS 27 TO 28 EDWARD III. Receipts, 34*l.* 6s. 8*d.* Expended, 63*l.* 8s. 5*d.*, in excess.

Wages of one bedder of stone for 40 weeks, making the foundation of the work on the side of the refectory, 70s.; to a boy helping him, 40s.

One mason hired for four weeks to make keys to the vaultings, 13s. 4*d.*

ACCOUNT MICHAELMAS 28 TO 29 EDWARD III., FOR THE WORK OF THE SAID CLOISTER.

Wages of two regular masons, two casual, one bedder and helper.

One hundred feet of cut rag-stone bought for the lodgment of the foundation, 58s. 4*d.*

Given to one marble mason for 2 weeks, shaping and polishing the said stones and others.

Twelve cartloads of stone for making "lystes" in the vaulting, bought on account of the default of stone in the quarry, 18s.

Receipts, 41*l.* 1s. 8*d.* Excess of expenditure remains, 63*l.* 4s.

ACCOUNT MICHAELMAS 29 TO 30 EDWARD III.

Among receipts are 20s. from the Cellarer of Westminster for stone sold to him for making a new furnace for lead; and 40s. for stone sold and taken for the King's work at Windsor.

Wages of masons as before; and for supply of stone, &c.

Receipts, 69*l.* Excess of expenditure, 46*l.* 14s. 10½*d.*

ACCOUNT 30 TO 31 EDWARD III. As before.

One bedder of stone hired, for accelerating the vaulting, for three weeks, 9s. Newly making iron-work for two windows, 21s.

Making a pit in the quarry for getting stone, by a certain agreement, 6*l.*

Making a door in the south part of the cloister, with iron-work bought for the same, 40s.

Receipts, 28*l.* 13s. 4*d.* Excess, 81*l.* 14s. 1½*d.*

ACCOUNT 31 to 32 EDWARD III.

Precept of the Abbot [Langham] for the acceleration of the said work.

Wages of 6 masons—some casual,—one bedder of stone, 78*s.* the year, and one servitor, 18*s.*, by agreement, besides his table with the sick to save expence.

Expences of 2 masons at the quarry for 2 weeks, shaping and sculpturing^b stone for the windows and other necessities, 6*s.*

Receipts, 78*l.* 16*s.* Excess, 77*l.* 19*s.* 8½*d.*

ACCOUNT 33 to 34 EDWARD III. As before.

Wages of J. Langelod sculpturing stones for 8 weeks, 6*s.*

Iron-work for three windows in the cloister, raised this year, weighing 200 lb., 37*s.* 4*d.*

Receipts, 45*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* Excess, 90*l.* 6*s.* 2½*d.*

ACCOUNT 35 to 36 EDWARD III. Much as before.

Metal bought for making a new "cimbal" in the cloister, and for twice melting the same, 50*s.*

Receipts, 73*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* Plus, 6*l.* 4*s.* 11½*d.*

ACCOUNT 36 to 37 EDWARD III. As before.

To another labourer for digging the foundation for four weeks, 8*s.*

For iron-work of a window in the new locutory, 13*s.* 4*d.*

Excess, 10*l.* 12*s.* 10½*d.*

ACCOUNT 38 to 39 EDWARD III. Receipts, 45*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.*

3 masons at 2*s.* per week, and their livery of bread and ale.

Sum of all expences, 45*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* And so they are equal, *the cloister being finished.*

ACCOUNT OF BROTHER PETER COUMBE, KEEPER OF THE NEW WORK OF THE CHURCH OF WESTMINSTER, of all receipts and expences from the Vigil of St. Michael, 11 Richard II. (1388), to same feast in next year.

Receipts, 180*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*, of which, surplus of last account, 28*l.* 15*s.* 4½*d.*

Fee of Master Yevelee, chief mason, 100*s.* per annum, and for his dress and furs, 15*s.*; do. of Robert Kentbury, 13*s.* 4*d.*; tunic of Thomas Paddington, 10*s.*

Five masons for 17 weeks (15*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*), one for five weeks, 6 labourers for 17 weeks at 20*d.* each, four bedders of stone for three weeks, three others for four weeks, two others for ten weeks.

4,400 sacks of slacked lime, 52 carts of sand, luncheons for the masons, bedders and labourers, 23*s.*

Wages of three labourers breaking down the walls of the old church and doing other things.

Expences at quarry, garden at Battersea hired for putting the stone in, farm of the quarry at Chalfdon, 66*s.* 8*d.*; 440 loads of stone from the quarry to Battersea, 44*l.*—2*s.* a load.

Paid to a mason of Couf, in part payment of 40*l.* for a marble pillar, 10*l.*

Receipts, 4*l.* 3*s.* 11½*d.* in excess.

ACCOUNT 17 to 18 RICHARD II.

Arrears, 33*l.* Receipts, 476*l.* 16*s.*,—of which 60*l.* from the King, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

^b "scapulandis."

from the Duke of Lancaster, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from the sale of gold cloths offered at the burial of Queen Ann, 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from the herce of the said Queen.

Wages, 86*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* Henry Zyevely, chief mason, 6 regular and named masons, 3 casual, 3 casual setters.

Emptions and expences, 159*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.*; for North stone bought, 34*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*; for marble this year, 80*l.*; 50*s.* for 10,000 tiles for the stone house at Bridge-court; 61*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* for luncheons of the workmen.

ACCOUNT 12 TO 13 RICHARD II.

Receipts, 109*l.* 6*s.*

Four regular masons, casual bedders and masons, two regular labourers, four casual ditto.

Conveyance of stone; paid for one marble column this year, 30*l.*; carriage of ditto from the Thames, 5*s.* 2*d.*; for the iron-work of two windows, weighing 1,000 lb., at 13*s.* 4*d.*, 8*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; for three windows weighing 900 lb., 7*l.* 7*s.*

ACCOUNT 14 TO 15 RICHARD II.

A chief and 6 regular masons, two casual ditto, one casual bedder, three labourers and quarry men.

Garden at Battersea for stone, 3*s.* 4*d.*; paid for a marble column, 70*l.*; carriage of same from the Thames, 10*s.*; paid for tables for moulds, 21*s.* 6*d.*

ACCOUNT 18 TO 19 RICHARD II.

Receipts, 443*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.*, including 106*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from the King at divers times, 111*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from sale of gold cloths; also other cloths.

Wages, &c.: one chief, ten regular and 6 casual masons, the "table" expences of one mason's apprentice 1*s.* per week, two casual setters, two carpenters working upon the new house for the masons, and another house in Tothill-street for 22 weeks, at 2*s.* 6*d.* each.

Carriage of stone from Reigate; 62 tons of stone from Caen, at 6*s.*; 64½ tons from the North parts, at 7*s.* 6*d.* per ton; for marble this year, 40*l.*

Foreign expences: for black cloth bought for the burial of Queen Anne, 20*l.*; for making 100 dresses, 33*s.* 4*d.*; paid to the dauber for the lodge for the masons and the house in Tothill-street, 15*s.* 6*d.*; 18*l.* for 200 pieces of great timber; for the iron-work of one window, weighing 401 qrs. 3 lbs., 70*s.*; for pavement without the gate towards the King's palace, 24*s.*

ACCOUNT 19 TO 20 RICHARD II.

Receipts, 253*l.* 3*s.* 1½*d.*: from the King nothing this year; from gold cloths offered on the anniversary of Queen Anne, 73*s.* 4*d.*

Stone and carriage, 152*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.*; for iron-work of windows, weighing in the whole 1,871 lbs., price the 100, 16*s.* 4*d.*; expences of the sacrist to Purbek, 45*s.* 2½*d.*; another going to the North parts to purchase stone, 7*s.* 10*d.*

ACCOUNT 20 TO 21 RICHARD II.

Receipts, 377*l.* 3*s.* 8*d.*; including 100*l.* from the King, and 42*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* from gold cloths sold.

Wages, 187*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.*

For marble this year, 40*l.*; for North stone, due for the preceding year, 20*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Paid for the iron-work of one window of the chancel, 7*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.*

Expences about the repair of houses in Westminster, 7*s.* 1*d.*

ACCOUNT 22 TO 23 RICHARD II.

Receipts, 79*l.* 6*s.* 4*d.*, and 144*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Items as before; paid for marble, 60*l.*

ACCOUNT 23 RICHARD II., 1 HENRY IV.

Payments to Thomas Lippynham and two others, at 3*s.* 4*d.* per week each. A mason and another man, 3 labourers and 2 apprentices.

ACCOUNT 1 TO 2 HENRY IV.

Receipts, 87*l.* 8*s.*

Wages, &c., 62*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; fee of Master William Colchester, chief mason, 100*s.* the year, and for his dress and furs; two workers, four masons, 2 setters, 3 labourers.

One pillar of marble bought, 40*l.*; 50 loads of Reigate and 117 tons of North stone.

ACCOUNT 2 TO 3 HENRY IV.

Pillar of marble, 40*l.*; to the smith for making iron-work for the church, 37*s.* 4*d.*

ACCOUNT 4 TO 5 HENRY IV.

Paid for marble, 80*l.*

ACCOUNT 9 TO 10 HENRY IV.

No wages; under "foreign payments" are entered purchases of 300 sacks of lime, 5 loads sand, 4 ditto loam, 3,000 plain tiles, 1 bushel tile-pins, (a tiler and his labourer for 10 days,) 2,000 roof-nails, 3,000 traunsons, 3,000 sprigga, 600 spikings, 300 feet of table oak, hooks and hinges weighing 42 lbs., 4 locks and keys.

ACCOUNT 11 TO 12 HENRY IV.

No wages, &c.; "foreign payments" include materials for roofing, and tiler and man for 18 days.

ACCOUNT 12 TO 13 HENRY IV.

No expences; but claim for 154*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* as owing to the "new work."

ACCOUNT 13 HENRY IV. TO 3 HENRY V. only refers to the houses.

ACCOUNT 3 TO 4 HENRY V.

32*l.* expended in the "new work of the church."—*Mem.*; this set of accounts confined to the management of property assigned to the "new work" of the church, not to the progress of that work.

DITTO TO 8 HENRY V.

ACCOUNT 8 TO 9 HENRY V.

Among expences is payment for making (by a carpenter) of "a new palace at the Bell." At the end the balance said to be handed over to "the Lord the Abbot, the Surveyor of the nave of the church of Westminster made by the Lord the King."

[Since the publication of the first edition Mr. Burt has discovered a few more interesting passages in the Rolls: being entered under the county of Dorset, they had escaped his attention in his former search. The first, it will be seen, relates to the tomb of the Princess Katherine, respecting which some particulars have already been given. We then get a notice of the purchase of a small quantity of marble, at a date between the Fabric Roll of 1253 and the earliest entry hitherto found in the Pipe Rolls relating to the church, A.D. 1256-7. The other extract is merely for the carriage of the marble.]

PIPE ROLL 41 HENRY III. A.D. 1256-7.

DORSET ET SUM'SET.—Et Mag'ro Sim' de Well' ad exp'nsas suas i eundo v'sus Westm' ad mandatū R' ad faciendū ibid' quendā tumulū ult' corp' Kat'ine fil' R' ii. m' p' br' R'. Et in car' ut'nsiliū suor' ad op'aco'em d'ci tumuli iiij. s. t' viij. d. p' id' br'.

Et in marmore empto ap'd Corf ad op'aco'nes eccl'ie Westm' v. m' p' br' R' de C m' p' visū & test'm Mag'ri Joh'is cementar' & Mag'ri Alex' carp'ntar' c'todū ear'd' op'aco'num.

DORSET AND SOMERSET.—And to Master Simon de Wells for his expenses in going to Westminster by the King's command, there to make a certain tomb over the body of Katherine the King's daughter, two marks (1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), by the King's writ. And for the carriage of his utensils for the work of the said tomb, 4*s.* 8*d.* by the same writ.

And for marble bought at Corf for the works of the church of Westminster, five marks (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*), by the King's writ for 100 marks, by the view and testimony of Master John the Mason and Master Alexander the Carpenter, Wardens of the same works.

PIPE ROLL 52 HENRY III. A.D. 1267-8.

DORSET AND SOMERSET.—Et i' toto marmore R' quē emptores . . . (ad) hoc assig'ti emer't ap'd Purbik' ad op'ao' ecc'e Westm' caria'nd' p' aq' de Purbik' usq' Westm' xij. s. viij. d. p' br' R' & vis' & test' p'd'cor' W. & H. (Will'i cl'ici t' Hug' Kene).

And for all the King's marble, which the purchasers thereto assigned bought at Purbeck for the works of the church of Westminster, being carried by water from Purbeck to Westminster 12*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, by the King's writ, &c.

THE LIBRARY OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY*.

THE associations connected with the venerable edifice under whose shadow we are now assembled are such that the man of thought can scarcely fail to be struck by them. The Abbey itself, with its long chain of history from the King and Confessor St. Edward to the present time, arrests our attention; but as we gaze on the glorious pile with wonder and admiration, we are reminded of an association which so completely identifies this Abbey with what may be termed the origin of our literature, that we may be allowed to pause and reflect. It is here, within the walls and under the protection of Westminster Abbey, that the first English printing-press was reared; it is here that William Caxton, the first English printer, laid the foundation of that art which has given to us what is now as necessary to mankind as bodily sustenance, namely books and libraries. For a library is not to be considered a mere luxury, a picture-gallery or museum of curiosities, available only to the few, it is in these days of intelligence and improvement a necessity for all; a library such as this is a grand storehouse of materials from which we gather learning and knowledge; knowledge divine, which leads to heaven; knowledge which will make the poor man rich, and will give the rich man what is above all gold and silver, the power unto wisdom which "is glorious and never fadeth away."

This library was founded about 1620, by Lord Keeper Williams, (whose portrait yet hangs here,) during the time he was Dean of Westminster. The books were originally kept in one of the chapels in the Abbey, but were afterwards removed to their present quarters.

In 1644 the books are stated to have suffered from a conflagration, but whether this catastrophe took place before they were removed hither or no, cannot be ascertained. The printed books number about eleven thousand volumes, and include many valuable works. Among them are the Complutensian Polyglott, 1515, in six vols. folio; Walton's Polyglott, dated in 1657; several valuable Hebrew Bibles, ranging in date from 1596; various Greek and Latin Bibles, and several English ones, including Cranmer's of 1540, and the first and second editions of Parker's, or the Bishops' Bible, in 1568 and 1572. Rituals and Prayer-

* From a paper read in the Library, at the Meeting of the London and Middlesex Society, Oct. 25, 1860. By W. H. Hart, F.S.A.

books, the works of the ancient Fathers, the Schoolmen, and the Reformers, are in great plenty. English theologians and English historians also abound, including the *Legenda Nova Angliæ*, London, 1516; and Parker, *De Antiquitate Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*, London, 1562.

Heraldry is not largely represented in this library, but in classical literature there are ample materials both for the industrious student and the curious bibliographer. Again, here is the first edition of the works of Plato, printed at Venice, in 1513; this is on vellum. A valuable book is here preserved,—it is one of those printed at Oxford during the fifteenth century,—*Johannes Lattiburius in threnos Jeremie, Capitulis CXV., folio, Oxonii, Anno dn'i 1482, ultimâ die mensis Julii*. From a memorandum on the first leaf of this book it appears that in 1563 it belonged to Thomas Sackomb, who purchased it of John Avyngton, a monk, also Scholar and Bachelor of the Cathedral Church of Winchester, and afterwards Professor of Theology. Several of the books here bear the signature of William Camden, in small and neat characters; they were doubtless gifts from him.

On one of the leaves of a copy of an early printed English book, "The Dialogue of Dives and Pauper," printed by Richard Pynson in 1493, in excellent condition, is this inscription, partially defaced: "Iste liber constat . . . Banbury . . . Osneye." Under this are three shields, the centre one containing these arms, Argent, two bends, azure; the two others are alike, each one containing a device like a merchant's mark, possibly standing for H. A. W., but this is doubtful.

The signature of John Fox the martyrologist occurs on the title-page of a book entitled *Gasparis Megandri Tigurini in Epistolam Pauli ad Ephesios Commentarius*, Basil, 1534. Two others are on a copy of Melancthon's *Loci Communes Theologici*, 1548.

A book here preserved, entitled *Descriptio Britannicæ, Scotiæ, Hybernici, et Orchadum, ex libro Pauli Jovii Episcopi Nucæ*, was once the property of Robert Glover, Portcullis Pursuivant at Arms, but afterwards passed into the possession of another proprietor, as appears by an inscription on the fly-leaf; and the second possessor has added this somewhat sarcastic remark, "Sic transit rerum proprietas."

In a copy of Ben Jonson's works, 1640, these verses are on a fly-leaf:—

"Tho' cruel Death has this great Conquest made
And learned Johnson in his urn is lay'd
Nere shall his fame be in y^e tyrants pow'r
For y^e shall live when Death shall be no more."

In another part of the same book :—

“Lord give me wisdom to direct my ways
I beg not Riches nor yet Length of Days.
Farewell.”

In a “Daily Office for the Sick,” &c., 1699, is this note :—

“If this be lost and you do find, I pray you to bere so good an mind as to restore un to the seme that here below heth set her name. H. G.”

In *Lombardica Hystoria*, 1490, is this amusing note :—

“Thomas Tyllie ys my name
And with my hand I cannot mend this same
He that dothe reade and not understande
Ys lyke to a blinde man led by y^e hande
Who, yf the guide be not suer and sounde
Ys lyke often tymes to ly on the grounde
Therefore good reader let theise be thy staye
And be not unmyndfull of them every daye.
For feare of fallinge as ofte doth the blinde,
And so by false guiders the truth shall not finde,
W^{ch} greatly doth greve the blind for the tyme,
And thus craving pardone I make up my ryme.

“JOHN LEE. THOMAS TYLLIE.

“An^o Dñi 1586.”

On the fly-leaf of Heylyn’s “Help to English History,” (London, 1670,) is this short but very expressive admonition :—

“Exodus 20th c.
‘Thou shalt not steal.’”

In the binding of a book entitled *Homeliarius Doctorum*, 1494, are two interesting documents, nearly perfect, only just so much having been cut off from the edge as to destroy perhaps the last two words in each line. They are on parchment, and were pasted inside the covers, but are now disengaged from their fellows by the joint action of time and damp.

The first consists of the will of Robert Atte Wod, Alderman of Oxford, dated the 28th day of May, 1461, just thirty-three years prior to the date of the book itself. By it he bequeaths his soul to Almighty God and all the saints, and his body to be buried in the church of the Blessed Mary of Oseney, near the grave of his father; and after making gifts to various churches, he provides for a chaplain to offer up the Mass for his soul, and the soul of Cicely Herberfeld, for whom he was bound, (i.e. he was under obligation,) in the church of St. Martin at Oxford for four years. He also gave to Joan his wife, for her life,

a tenement in the parish of St. Thomas, called Bokebynders Place; and after her death, then according to the form and effect of certain indentures between the abbot of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of Osseneya, and himself. This will was proved in the Ecclesiastical Court at Oxford.

The other document is undated, but is probably of the same period as the will. It is a petition, in English, and is remarkable for the title it assigns to the magnates of the city of London, namely, that of "sovereigns." It runs thus:—

"To the Ryght honourable and gracyous lorde end worschypfull souveraignes the Mayre and Aldremen of yis noble Citie of London.

"Besechith full humbely your poore and perpetuell oratrice Johan Pentrithe, widowe, late th . . . John Pentrithe, youre trewe Servaunt and Officere, that it may please you and goode graces in . . . deracion of the longe daies of their continuance in youre service withinne this Cite of L . . . of the gret and importable penurye that youre sayde poore oratrice seth tyme of hir sed h . . . decease hath longe tyme continued and abyden unto the gret peine and hevynesse of your . . . suppliant, the which she cannot well long tyme endure without youre goode and gracious . . . relief. To yeve and graunt unto youre saide poore oratrice some annuell refreshment . . . gracyous almesse and goodnesse in relevynge and refreshing of hir said povertie and heu . . . for the tendre love that ye have hadde unto hir said housbond, atte reverence of almyght . . . and in wey of charite, and youre saide poor wydowe and perpetuell oratrice shall pra . . . for you hir lyf durynge," &c.

In another book, *Homiliarum Opus*, F. Adami Sasbout, Delphii Lovanii, 1556, are two parchment deeds, which have been made use of for binding purposes. They are not so perfect as the previous specimens, but they yield some little information as to property and persons in the city of London.

By the first one John Brother, son and heir of Adam de Brother, grants to Adam de Brauncestre and another, goldsmiths, of London, and their heirs or assigns, two marks annual rent, which the same Adam and Thomas purchased of Adam Brother his (grantor's) father, issuing out of the principal messuage, and the tenement adjoining, in the parish of Saint Mary Magdalen, in Old Fish-street, near the said church. This deed is of the reign of Henry III. or Edward I. The other deed is very fragmentary. By it John de . . . rd, citizen and vintner of London, gives to Edward de Westsmethefeld, London, and Roger de Creton, certain lands, the locality of which does not appear. It is dated at "Iseldon," (Islington,) 8 Edward III.

Another series of books which have not only a local, but also a great historical interest, are the books used at the coronations of the sovereigns of this realm.

The first two are histories of the solemnity; one entitled,—

“The entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II., in his passage through the City of London to his Coronation, containing an exact accompt of the whole solemnity: The Triumphall arches, and Cavalcade delineated in Sculpture; the Speeches and Impresses illustrated from antiquity. To these is added a brief narrative of His Majestie's Solemn Coronation: with his magnificent proceeding, and Royal Feast in Westminster Hall. By John Ogilby. London. Printed by Tho. Roycroft, and are to be had at the Author's house in King's Head Court within Shoe Lane. M DC LXII.”

The other entitled,—

“The History of the Coronation of the most High, most mighty, and most excellent Monarch, James II. by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., and of his Royal Consort, Queen Mary: solemnized in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, in the City of Westminster, on Thursday the 23 of April, being the Festival of St. George, in the year of our Lord 1685. With an exact account of the several preparations in order thereunto, their Majesties' most splendid processions, and their Royal and Magnificent Feast in Westminster Hall. The whole work illustrated with Sculptures. By his Majestie's especial command. By Francis Sandford, Esqre., Lancaster Herald of Arms. In the Savoy: Printed by Thomas Newcomb, one of His Majesties Printers, 1687.”

We then come to George the Third's reign. Here is a book handsomely bound in red morocco, and gilt, and the inner sides of the covers ornamented with gold and flowers. It is entitled,—

“The Form and order of the service that is to be performed, and of the ceremonies that are to be observed in the Coronation of their Majesties King George III. and Queen Charlotte in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, on Tuesday the 22nd of September, 1761. London: Printed by Mark Baskett, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty, and by the assigns of Robert Baskett, 1761.”

And then in their order are the books of George the Fourth, William the Fourth, and our present sovereign, the Lady Victoria. The last one, however, is simply stitched in black paper covers.

It is stated that in the library founded by Dr. Williams in Redcross-street, Cripplegate, were many manuscripts, which were burnt, and among them the pompous and curious book of the ceremonies of the coronation of the kings of England.

There seems to have been in former times one book or standard for the ceremony of our coronations, for in the Harleian MS. (British Museum), No. 310, art. 4, there is a transcript from some book of authority, but the date does not appear. It is entitled “A Collection out of the Booke called Liber Regalis remaining in the Treasury of the Church of Westminster touchinge the Coronation of the Kinge and Queene together accordinge to the usuall forme, Pag. 4.”

It proceeds thus :—

“The place where the Kings is to be crowned is the church of Westminster graunted to it by divers charters to be *Locus Institutionis et Coronationis Regia et Repositorium Regalium Insignium imperpetuum*.

The tyme, if it may be with conveniencye some sollempne hollidaye or Sunday.

The person that is to annointe and to Crowne the Kings is the Lo. Archbisshopp of Canterburye.

Against the Sollempnitie a square stage is to be sett up close to the fower highe pillars betweene the Quiere and the Altar, with railles about it.

The stage is to be covered with Tapistrie, and the Rayles allsoe to be covered richlye.

There must be two paire of Stares from the stages, one to the Queere Westward, and the other to the Altar Eastward.

Uppon the Stage are two Thrones of Estate to be set upp, one for the Kings, and another for the Queene set out richlye.

The King's Throne to be heigher then the Queenes.

On the South side of the Altar is a Chaire to be sett for the Kings, and annother not soe highe on the Northe side for the Queene, with lowe stooles and Quishions for either of them to praye at.

In Saint Edwards Chappell a Travers is to be set upp wherin the Kings disrobeth himselfe after the Coronation is donne.

Where allsoe a stooles, and Quichions (to pray at), and a Chaire for the Queene to repose herselfe in the meane tyme are to be made readdye.

Your Lo^{pp} is to put the Kings in minde, the eveninge before the Corronation, to give himselfe to contemplation and prayer as in the booke, pag. 6.

Your Lordshipp is to deliver to his Magestye the Tunica or Shirte of redd Silke which hee is to weare next over his Shirte, to which Tunica his Magesties Shirte and other wearinge Apparrell is to be fitted because of the annoyntinge.

There are to be delivered allsoe these Regalia to whome his Magestie shall appoint,

viz.

For the Kings,

The Regalia,
The Patten,
The Scepter wth the Crosse,
The longe Scepter,
The rodd wth the Dove,
The Spures,

For the Queene,

The Ivory Rodd with the Dove,
The Scepter,
The Crowne,

All the other Regalia, together with the Ampall wherein is the oyle which the Kings and Queenes have bine annoynted, be layed reddye on the Altar.

That the Crowne and other Robes which the Kings putteth one after the Coronation to be layed readdye in the Travers in St. Edwards Chappell.

The heire of the Lo. Beauchampe of Bedford Almoner for the Coronation daye is to have care that Clothes be spread on the ground from the Pallace Hall dore to the stage in the Church.

Diaconus Westm^r semper lateri Regis adharendo præsens debet esse pro dicti Regis informatione in his quæ dicta Coronationis concernunt solemnitate.

The Archebisshoppes and Bisshoppes of this Kingdome present with the Churches and Queere of Westminster are to meete the Kings at the Pallace Gate.

Two Bishoppes appointed by the Kinge are to carrye first the Begall, 2 The Patten.

Then three Peeres, *Duces sive Comites Regni excellentiores, &c.*, are to beare

1 The Scepter with the Crosse.

2 The Longe Scepter.

3 The Rodd with the Dove.

After whome 3 swords borne by the Earles of Chester, Huntingdon, Warwick.

Then *unus de Magnatibus ad hoc per Regem assignatus* is to carrye the Spurres.

The Kinge goeth next under a Canopye borne by the Barones of the Cinque Portes, 4 of them at a Staffe, supported by the Bishoppes of Durham and Bathe.

After the Kinge followe 3 Peeres carryinge the

1 Ivorye Rodd.

2 The Queenes Scepter.

3 The Queenes Crowne.

Then the Queene, under a Canopye borne likewyse by the Barons of the Cinque Portes, supported likewyse by 2 Bishoppes, hir gowne and habite discribed in the booke.

The Kinge and Queene are receaved into the Church with an Anthum or Hymme.

They passe upp the Boddye of the church to the Thrones of Estate, and they repose themselves eyther of them, *in sede sibi opta*, and not in the Thrones.

The Kinge beinge seated as aforesayd the Archbishopp, (*precunte Marescallo Regni*) goeth to all the sides of the Stage speakinge to the people *ipsorum inquirens voluntatem &c.*

Duringe which the Kinge standeth upp and turneth himselfe as the Archbishopp speaketh to the people.

The people shewe their consent by their acclamations.

An Anthem's sunge.

The Archbishopp whilst it is singinge goeth to the Altar.

The Queene alsoe, supported by 2 Bishoppes, goethe after the Kinge to the Altar to a place provided for them.

The Kinge offereth first *Pallium unum et unam Libram auri* and then kneelethe and the Archebishopp sayth a prayer.

A Bishopp then beginethe the Sermon which the Kinge and Queene heere by the Altar.

After the Sermon the Archebishopp asketh the Kinge whether he be pleased to take the oathe which his predecessors usually tooke.

The Kinge willinge therunto goeth to the Altar to take it.

The Archbishopp asketh the 3 first questions, and the Kinge severallye answereth unto them.

Then another Bishopp readeth the last Questionne, and the Kinge answereth to yⁱ in the words as theise are sett downe (vizⁱ)

Archebishopp.—S^r Will you graunte and keepe and by your oath confirme to the people of England the Lawes and Customes to them graunted by the Kings of England your lawfull and Relligious Predecessours, And namelye the Lawes Customes and Franchises graunted to the Clergie and to the people by the glorious Kinge St. Edward your predecessour, accordinge and conformable to the Lawes of God and profession of the Gospell established in this Kingdome, and agreeinge to the Prerogatives of the Kings thereof and to the auntient Customes of this Realme.

The Kinge answareth

I graunt and promise to keepe them.

Then the Metropolitane shall declare unto the Kinge what the things are he shall sweare unto.

Metrop.—S^r Will you keepe peace and agreement entyerlye accordinge to your power both to God, the Holye Church, and the people?

The Kinge.—I will keepe it.

Metrop.—S^r Will you to your power cause Lawe, Justice, and discretion in mercy and truthe to be executed in all your Judgements?

The Kinge.—I will.

Metrop.—S^r Will you graunte to hould and keepe the Lawes and rightfull customes which the Commaltie of your Kingdome have, and to defend and uphold them to the honor of God, soe much as in you lyethe?

The Kinge.—I graunte and promise soo to doe.

Legatur admonitio sequens ab uno Episcopo coram omnibus clara voce, sic dicendo.

Domine Rex a vobis pardonari petimus, et unicuique de nobis et Ecclesiis nobis commissis canonicum privilegium et debitam legem atque iustitiam concernetis et defensionem exhibeat, sicut Rex in suo Regno debet unicuique Episcopo et Ecclesiis sibi commissis.

Respondet Rex

Animo liberti et devoto, promitto vobis et pardo quia unicuique de vobis commissis canonicum privilegium et debitam legem atque iustitiam servabo et defensionem quantum potuero adjuvante Domino exhibeo, sicut Rex in suo Regno unicuique Episcopo et Ecclesiis sibi commissis per Rectum defendere debet.

This beinge done the Kinge comethe to the Alt.^r, and layinge his right hand one the Bible, saithe thease words

Thesee things which I have before promised I shall observe and keepe soe God me helpe and by the contents of this booke.

The Kinge returneth to his seate of Estate againe, and the Archbishopp beginethe the *Hymnes Veni Creator Spiritus &c.* the Queere singinge it.

The Kinge and Queene kneele downe, and the Archbishopp sayth a prayer.

After which the Letanie is sunge, at the end whereof are prayers proper for the solempnitie.

The Letanye ended the Archbishopp sayth alowd, *clara voce*;

Lifte up your heartes,

It is verrey meete and right &c.

Then the Kinge arrisethe and goeth to the Altar, and then putteth of his other garments, and the Archbishopp openinge the places to be annointed, first annoynteth his hands saying *unguantur manus &c.*

The Queere singinge an Anthem, and after it the Archbishopp sayth a prayer.

Then he annoynteth his brest, and betweene the shoulders, and both the shoulders the bendings of the Armes, the Crowne of his head.

Then the Deane of Westminster cloeth his robes againe.

The Queere in the meane tyme singinge an Anthem, and after the Archbishopp sayth 2 prayers.

St. Edwards Ivory Combe is to be used if the King's hayre after annoyntinge lye not smoothe.

Then the Colobium or Dalmatica is put on his Magestye by the Deane of Westminster.

After which done the Archbishopp sayth a prayer.

Then the Deane putteth on the	}	The super tunica,
Kinge		Tinsin hose, Sandalls.

The Spurres are put one by a Nobleman.

Then the Archbishopp, after he hath layd the sword on the Altar and sayd a prayer, he delivereth it to the Kinge sayinge

Accipe Gladium &c.

A Peere girteth it about the Kinge.

Then the Armill is putt aboute the Kings necke, the Archbishopp saying *Accipe Armillas.*

Then y^e Mantle or open Pall is put one by the Deane, the Archbishopp sayinge
Accipe Pallium &c.

Then the Archbishopp taketh the Crowne and sayth 2 prayers, then crowneth the Kinge sayinge

Coronet te Deus &c.

The Queere singinge an Anthem.

Then the Archbishopp taketh the Ringe, sayinge 2 prayers, and putteth it on the Kings finger saying

Accipe Regis dignitatis Annulum &c.

And then sayth a Prayer.

Then the Kinge putteth on the Lynnen Gloves which are parte of the Regalia.

Then the Kinge taketh of his sword wherewith he was girted before, and goeth to the Altar and offers it, which the Cheife Nobleman present by offeringe, redeemethe, drawethe out and carrieth naked before the Kinge duringe the Sollempnitie.

The Archbishopp then delivereth to the Kinge the Scepter with the Crosse sayinge

Accipe Sceptrum &c.

And sayth a prayer.

Then he delivereth the Rodd with the Dove into the King's left hand sayinge

Accipe virgam virtutis.

And then blesseth the Kinge sayinge

Benedicat tibi Dominus, &c.

The Kinge kisseth the Archbishopp and the other Bishopps that assiste.

After this the Kinge goeth from the Altar up to the Stage, all the Peeres attendinge.

The Queere singinge *Te Deum &c.*

Which beinge done the Archbishopp Inthroneth the Kinge in his Throne sayinge *Sta et retine a modo Locum,* which donne all the Peeres doe theire Homage to his Magestye and then put their hands and touche the Crowne together.

Then the Kinge for his ease delivereth the Scepter and Rodd to whome he pleaseth.

Thease things done the Archbishopp goeth to the Altar and the Queene goeth thither likewyse and kneeleth downe.

The Archbishopp sayth a prayer.

The Queene arriseth, then the cheifest Ladye present taketh of the Queenes Coronet, and then openeth hir brest, and then kneeleth againe.

The Archbishopp poureth the oyle on the Crowne of hir head saying *In nomine &c.*

Then he sayth a prayer.

The Cheife Ladye then cloethe hir Robes at hir breste and putteth on hir heade a linnen Quoyfe.

Then the Archbishopp putteth on the Queenes Ringe sayinge *Accipe Anulum &c.*

And then sayth a prayer.

Then he taketh the Crowne and layeth it one the Altar sayinge a prayer.

The Queene ariseth, and the Archbishopp taketh the Crowne and layeth it on the Altar sayinge a prayer.

Then hee putteth the Crowne on hir heade sayinge

Accipe Coronam.

After that sayth a prayer.

The prayer beinge donne the Archbishopp delivereth the Scepter into hir right hand, and y^e Ivory Rodd with the Dove into hir left hand, and sayth a prayer.

Then y^e Queene arriseth and goeth forthe from the Altar supported by two Bishopps upp to the Stage, and passinge by the Kinge doth *Inclinare Regi; ejus Magestatem ut decet adorando.*

After which shee is lead to hir throne and is placed in it without further Ceremonie.

Then the Archbishopp goeth to the Altar and beginneth a Communion, first saying a prayer.

The Epistle and Gospell are read by 2 Bishopps.

Then the Nicene Creede.

That donne, the Queene singeth in the mean tyme while the Kinge and Queene come downe to offer, the Kinge goeth first to the Altar and offereth bread and wyne for the Communion.

Then returning to the Chaire goeth againe and offereth a Marke of gould.

Then the Queene goeth to the Altar and offereth.

Then the Archbishopp pronounceth over them a blessinge. Which beinge donne theise are brought backe to their chaires hard by the Altar.

The Archbishopp proceedeth with the praier and then with the Confession.

After the Archbishopp hath communicated himselfe, and those that assiste him, the Kinge and Queene come to the stepps of the Altar and receive the Communion.

The Archbishopp ministereth the bread and y^e Deane of Westminster the cupp.

That donne the Kinge and Queene are brought backe againe to their Thrones, and there staye till service be ended.

After which the Kinge and Queene come downe frome their Thrones in Estate, and goe to Kinge Edwards Chappell.

There the Kinge taketh of the Crowne and delivereth it to y^e Archbishoppe.

The Queene doth y^e like.

Hee layeth them on the Altar there.

The Kinge withdraweth himselfe into the Traverser there prepared, and y^e Queene reposeth herselfe untill y^e Kinge returne.

In y^e Traverser the greate Chamberlaine of England taketh of K. Edwards Robes and delivereth them to the Deane of Westminster.

The Kinge putteth on his owne Robes Royall which were prepared for him to weare that daye.

He goeth forthe of y^e Traverser to Kinge Edwards Altar where the Archbishopp putteth on the Kinge and Queenes heads y^e Imperial Crownes theise are to weare that daye.

The Kinge and Queene take into theire hands againe each of them theire Scepter and Rodd.

The Trayne is sett in order, and the Kinge and Queene goe backe in most solempne manner to y^e Pallace y^e same waye theie came.

The Kinge and Queene withdrawinge themselves after dinner, the Scepter and Rodde parte of the Regalia are to be redelivered to the Deane of Westminster."

MANUSCRIPTS.

The greater part of the manuscripts perished in the fire before spoken of, but there are a few left, and among them are some valuable specimens.

In the Harleian MS., No. 694, are contained numerous catalogues of various libraries, and among them a list of the manuscripts here, compiled apparently in the year 1672. It is entitled, "Catalogus Codd. MSS. in Bibliotheca Westmonast. An^o 1672." This contains above three hundred volumes, all of which are briefly specified. There is a good sprinkling of classical authors, the ancient Fathers of the Church, and several books which, if now in existence, would have been well worthy our attention. Among these are—

"An English new Testament with a Calender of the Epistles and Ghospells.

"An old Missall with the Roman Calender before it.

"Two other Missalls.

"A treatise how to live godlyly, Beginneth, a Treatize y^t sufficeth to each man and woman to live after if they wolen bee saved.

"A book of prayers to certaine Saints with the pictures.

"The Summary of the whole Bible collected by Wickliffe."

Next come several books on legal subjects, gavelkind, pleadings, statutes, and forms of writs; then a curious book entitled,—

"The method of preparing food, or concerning the ancient culinary art, in which are elucidated the names of the dishes had at the dinners of Coronations and Installations."

The magnificently illuminated missal or service-book, prepared in the year 1373 under the care of Nicholas Litlington, at that time abbot of this church, is in most excellent preservation, with scarcely a blemish throughout, except those owing to design.

The first volume commences with the consecration of salt for the holy water. It contains offices for the Sundays of the whole year, from Advent to the twenty-fifth after Trinity; likewise several of the principal festivals.

The second volume contains the Mass and the service for Passion-week, at great length; the office for the coronation of the king and queen, and that for the queen only when not crowned with the

king; the office for the royal funerals; several offices for inferior or national saints, as Edward the Confessor, Edmund, Dunstan, Laurence, Catherine, &c.

By a proclamation in Henry the Eighth's time, renewed under Edward the Sixth, all services, litanies, and books of prayer were ordered to be purified from all the remains of popery; and in consequence of this, the very name of the Pope has been erased from many Missals, and in this of Litlington's the name of St. Thomas à Becket is erased from the calendar, as also the office for his festival.

There is a very curious piece of history respecting a manuscript still preserved in the library, entitled "*Flores Historiarum*, or the Chronicle of Matthew of Westminster." In some rhymes written by a monk of Westminster on the life of Henry the Fifth, (contained in Cotton MSS. Brit. Mus., Cleopatra B., and lately edited by Mr. Charles Augustus Cole in the series of Chronicles now being published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls,) the author, after describing the bounteous gifts made by the King to the Church of Westminster, mentions in particular two precious books and a sceptre which he restored to the same church:—

"Psalterium carum, sic Flores Historiarum
Restituit gratis ad Westmynstre vir pietatis."

There can be but little doubt that the *Flores Historiarum* spoken of by the chronicler is the identical volume still in the library, while there is every reason to believe that the "precious Psalter" is none other than Litlington's Missal.

We have here the ancient Chronicle of England commonly called the "Brute;" which is a compilation from the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth. There is an abundant supply of copies of this Chronicle throughout the manuscript repositories of this country, especially at the British Museum.

Here also is a curious manuscript on subjects of natural history, with coloured representations of various animals, preceded by drawings of human monstrosities, and a view of Adam's naming the animals.

A book, which though not in the library, is yet connected with the Abbey, demands a few passing words. In the Public Record Office in this metropolis is preserved a book containing the various indentures between King Henry VII. and the abbot and convent of Westminster concerning the prayers to be said for himself and family during his life, and the performance of services for their souls after their decease. These indentures are dated July 16, 1504, and they enumerate with

great precision all the services which were to be held, and the various collects and psalms to be used from and after the execution of the deed. Special prayers were to be said daily in the regular services of the Abbey for the prosperity of the King and his family; there was to be a "herse" set round with 100 tapers, which the King provided till the chapel was erected in which his tomb was to be placed, and an "Anniversary" was to be performed upon February 11. At certain of the Masses said by the chantry-monk appointed for that purpose, he was to turn his face "at the first lavatory" to the people, and bid them pray for the King thus:—

"Sirs,—I exhorte and desire you specially and devoutly of your charitie to praye for the good and prosperous estate of the Kyng oure Souverayne Lorde Kyng Henry the vijth, founder of thre masses perpetually to be sayd in this monastery, and for the prosperitie of this his reame, and for the soule of the moost excellent Princeesse Elizabeth late Quene of Englande, his wif, and for the soules of their children and issue, and for the soule of the right noble Prince Edmund late Erie of Richemont, fader to oure said souverayne lorde the Kyng, and for the soules of all his other progenitours and auncestres, and all cristen soules."

This book is illuminated, and is superbly bound in velvet, and the seals of the contracting parties are enclosed in small silver skippets.

ON ANCIENT BINDINGS IN THE LIBRARY^b.

THE examples of fifteenth and sixteenth century impressed leather bindings in this library are numerous, and many of them are of very rare occurrence in other collections.

The first I would describe is the cover of a book printed at Basle in the year 1502. On one side of this volume is the representation of St. John the Baptist preaching. He is clad "in raiment of camel's hair," and is standing on a mount, behind three branches of trees tied together, resembling in shape the letter H. The people surrounding him have their hands clasped in prayer.

On the reverse side of the volume is impressed the figure of St. James holding in the left hand a staff and wallet, and supporting with his right a youth who is suspended from a gibbet.

The legend is thus narrated by Pope Calixtus II. :—

"A certain German, who with his wife and son went on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella, having travelled as far as Torloosa, lodged at an inn there;

^b Read in the Library, Oct. 25, 1860. By Joseph J. Howard, F.S.A.

and the host had a fair daughter, who looking on the son of the pilgrim (a handsome and graceful youth), became deeply enamoured; he being virtuous, and, moreover, on his way to a holy shrine, refused to listen to her allurements. Then she thought how she might be avenged for this slight put upon her charms, and hid in his wallet her father's drinking cup. The next morning, no sooner were they departed than the host discovering his loss, pursued them, accused them before the judge, and the cup being found in the young man's wallet, he was condemned to be hung, and all they possessed was confiscated to the host.

"Then the afflicted parents pursued their way lamenting, and made their prayers and complaint before the altar of the blessed St. Jago; and thirty-six days afterwards, as they returned by the spot where their son hung on the gibbet, they stood beneath it weeping and lamenting.

"Then the son spoke, 'O my mother! O my father! do not lament for me, for I have never been in better cheer; the blessed Apostle James is at my side sustaining me, and filling me with celestial comfort and joy.' The parents being astonished, hastened to the judge, who at that moment was seated at table, and the mother called out, 'Our son lives.' The judge mocked at them. 'What sayest thou, good woman? Thou art beside thyself. If thy son lives, so do those fowls in my dish.' And, lo! scarcely had he uttered the words when the fowls [being a cock and a hen] rose up full feathered in the dish, and the cock began to crow, to the great admiration of the judge and his attendants.

"Then the judge rose up from table hastily, and called together the priests, and the lawyers, and they went in procession to the gibbet, took down the young man and restored him to his parents, and the miraculous cock and hen were placed under the protection of the Church, where they and their posterity long flourished in testimony of this stupendous miracle."—*Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art*, ed. 1850, p. 140.

In the chapel of St. James, four miles from Spoleto, are frescoes representing the miracles of this saint. In one compartment St. James is represented sustaining a youth who is suspended from a gibbet^c. The example before you is the only instance I have seen of this saint being so represented on early bindings.

The next binding is a very beautiful example of early art, and appears to be of the same date as the volume, which was printed by Wynkin de Worde in 1511. On one side is represented, under a canopy, the figure of St. Barbara, surrounded by a floriated border, in which are introduced lions, birds, &c., and on a scroll the legend *SANCTA BARBARA ORA [PRO NOBIS]*. She is holding in her right hand a palm-branch, (the emblem of martyrdom,) and in her left the Bible. By her side is a tower, and the ground is powdered with fleurs-de-lis.

The legend as given by Mrs. Jameson^d is as follows:—

"Dioscorus, who dwelt in Heliopolis, had an only daughter named Barbara, whom he exceedingly loved. Fearful lest from her singular beauty she should be demanded in marriage and taken from him, he shut her up in a tower, and kept

^c Mrs. Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, ed. 1850, p. 144.

^d *Ibid*.

her secluded from the eyes of men. The virtuous Barbara in her solitude gave herself up to study and meditation; and the result of her reflection was that idols of wood and stone worshipped by her parents could not have created the stars of heaven on which she so often gazed. So she contemned these false gods, but did not as yet know the true faith.

"Now in the loneliness of her tower the fame reached her of the famous doctor and teacher Origen, who dwelt in Alexandria. She longed to know of his teaching, and wrote to him secretly. On Origen reading the letter he rejoiced, and sent to her one of his disciples, disguised as a physician, who perfected her conversion, and she received baptism from him.

"Her father, who was violently opposed to the Christians, was at this time absent; but previous to his departure he had sent skilful architects to construct a bath chamber of wonderful splendour. One day St. Barbara descended to view the progress of the workmen, and seeing that they had constructed two windows commanded them to insert a third. When her father returned he was much displeased, and said to his daughter, 'Why hast thou done this?' and she answered, 'Know, my father, that through three windows doth the soul receive light,—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the three are one.'

"Then her father being enraged, drew his sword to kill her, but she fled to the summit of the tower, and he pursued her; but by angels she was wrapped from his view and carried to a distance. A shepherd betraying her place of concealment, her father dragged her thence by the hair, and beat her, and confined her in a dungeon, denouncing her to the Proconsul Marcian. Her father, seeing no hope of her renouncing Christianity, carried her to a certain mountain near the city, drew his sword and cut off her head; but as he descended the mountain there came a most fearful tempest, and fire fell upon this cruel father and consumed him."

On the reverse side is a representation of the mass of St. Gregory, who is seen officiating at the altar, surrounded by his attendant clergy; immediately over the altar is the Saviour, supported by two angels, His feet resting on a chalice.

The legend is as follows:—

"On a certain occasion when St. Gregory was officiating at the mass, one was near him who doubted the real presence; thereupon, at the prayer of the saint, a vision is suddenly revealed of the crucified Saviour Himself, who descends upon the altar, surrounded by the implements of the Passion."

Another representation of St. Barbara is impressed on the cover of Gregory's "*Decretals*," printed by Regnault in 1519. The figure of the saint is similarly treated to the example last described.

On the cover of a small book entitled *Apparatus Latine Locutiones* is impressed the representation of the wise men's offering. The Virgin is seated with the Saviour on her knee; behind her is Joseph; in front, the wise men with crowns on their heads are offering cups of various shapes. The binder's device, or merchant's mark, (with the initials B. I.,) is in the foreground.

Many of the bindings are impressed with the royal arms, badges, &c., and I have placed on the table several of the more remarkable specimens.

The impressed cover of a volume entitled *Annotationes in Proverbia Salomonis*, printed by Froben, is deserving of notice. On one side is represented the Tudor rose, surrounded by the legend,—

“Hec rosa virtutis de celo missa sereno
Eternū florens Regia sceptrā feret.”

On either side are two angels; above the legend are two escutcheons, the dexter charged with the arms of St. George, and the sinister with those of the City of London; on another shield at the base are the initials and merchant's mark of the binder; and on the reverse side of the cover are the arms of France and England, quarterly, surmounted by a royal crown, and supported by two angels. The initials of William Bill, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Dean of Westminster, who died in 1561, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, (where there is a brass to his memory,) are stamped on the covers of this volume.

On the cover of a work printed by Jehan Petit early in the sixteenth century, entitled *Sermones de Adventu*, are represented on one side the arms of Henry VIII. (France and England quarterly), impaling 1 and 4, quarterly, Castile and Leon; 2 and 3, Aragon and Sicily; and on a point in base a pomegranate erect, slipped, proper, for Granada. The arms are supported by two angels, and surmounted by an imperial crown. On the reverse side are the royal arms (France and England only) supported by the dragon and greyhound; above the shield, which is surmounted by the imperial crown, is a rose, on either side of which are two angels with scrolls. Immediately under the arms is the portcullis, allusive to the descent of the house of Tudor from the Beaufort family.

The Tudor rose, fleur-de-lis, castle, pomegranate, and other royal badges, frequently occur on impressed bindings *temp.* sixteenth century. In the example on the table the binder's device and initials, as well as the badges above mentioned, are represented.

On the cover of a small volume printed in the year 1542, is impressed the portraiture of Charles V., Emperor of Germany. He is represented in armour, holding in his right hand the orb, and in his left the sceptre, surrounded by the legend,—

“CAROLVS V. ROMA IMP. SEMPER
AVGVST. ETAT SVB XLII.”

X X

Above is a shield charged with the imperial arms, (a double-headed eagle displayed,) and beneath are the two columns of Hercules, with the motto *PLUS OULTRÉ*.

The binder's name in full is seldom found impressed in bindings. There is, however, a very interesting example in this library, stamped on the cover of a small volume printed by Regnault in the year 1555. The following legend, viz., *JOHANNES DE WOVDIX ANTWERPIE ME FECIT*, surrounds a square-shaped compartment, within which is represented a lion rampant, ensigned with an imperial crown, probably intended for the arms of Flanders.

The arms of Edward IV. are impressed on the covers of a manuscript Book of Prayers. The arms, supported by two lions, are surrounded by fleurs-de-lis and hearts, and round the extreme verge is the representation of a hand, the first finger extended. It is not in the form for the act of blessing. It may have had reference to the hand on one of the sceptres of France, seeing it is associated with the fleur-de-lis.

THE ORGAN OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY*.

WITH reference to the old organ, Mr. Hart observed that he could give no particulars of any instrument previous to the Great Rebellion, for on that event nearly all the organs in England were broken up and destroyed by the Parliamentary troops; but on the restoration of Charles II., and the return of affairs to their old channel, there was naturally a great demand for organs, or rather for organ-builders. Among these was the great Bernard Smith, many of whose works now remain, such as the organ at the Temple Church, St. Paul's Cathedral, and elsewhere. He was organ-builder to the Royal Chapels, and was succeeded in his business by his pupil, Schreider, who, from being his apprentice, became, by a not unusual course, his son-in-law, and constructed the organ now in this Abbey^b. It originally stood in the first bay from the transept, on the north side of the choir, to accompany the chants, services, and anthems of the daily matins and evensong. The situation was exactly over the monuments of Blow, Purcell, and Croft, who were buried under the organ which in their lifetime they had performed upon. From a memorandum in a MS. book in the custody of the Precentor, the organ seems to have been placed at the west end of the choir in 1730:—"The new organ built by Mr. Schreider and Mr. Jordan was opened on the 1st of August, 1730, by Mr. Robinson; the anthem, Purcell's, *O give thanks*."

The instrument was divided into two cases, one containing the great

* By W. H. Hart, F.S.A.

^b The following quibbling epitaph upon Schreider appeared in Webb's Collection of Epitaphs, vol. ii. p. 76:—

"On the celebrated Mr. Christopher Shrider.

Here rests the musical Kit Shrider,
Who organs built when he did bide here;
With nicest ear he tun'd 'em up;
But death has put the cruel stop:
Tho' breath to others he convey'd,
Breathless alas! himself is lay'd.
May he, who us such keys has given,
Meet with St. Peter's keys of Heav'n!
His cornet, twelfth, and diapason,
Could not with air supply his weasand:
Bass, tenor, treble, unison,
The loss of tuneful Kit bemoan."

organ and swell, the other the choir organ, and was placed over the screen, as most of you may recollect. It had three rows of keys, and twenty-three stops; the total number of pipes being 1,348.

It remained thus till 1847, when great alterations were made in the arrangements of the Abbey itself, including the remodelling and alteration of the instrument. It was thought desirable, among other improvements, to obtain, if possible, a complete view inside the Abbey from end to end; and to effect this the organ was divided, as you may now see it, into three cases: one, placed on the north side of the church, in the fourth arch from the opening of the transept, contains the great organ; another exactly similar is placed fronting it in the corresponding arch, on the south side of the church, and contains the swell; and a third, placed over the arch in the screen, contains the choir organ.

At the time of this alteration several new stops were added, and it is now an instrument worthy of the church it stands in; the richness and fulness of tone given by the diapasons of Schreider, and the brilliancy of the full organ, will not easily be forgotten by those who enjoy a musical taste.

The instrument contains three manuals and a pedal organ.

The swell extends from CC to F in alt, (54 notes); the great organ from CCC to F in alt, (66 notes); the choir organ from GG to F in alt, (59 notes); and the pedal organ from CCC to D, (29 notes).

The great organ contains the following stops; those marked with an asterisk are new, (that is, were added at the time of the alteration):—

*Open diapason throughout.

Open diapason, from CC.

Double diapason, from CC.

Stopped diapason, throughout.

Principal, ditto.

*Diapente (or quint), from CC.

Twelfth, throughout.

Fifteenth, ditto.

Stopped flute, from CC.

*Sesquialtera, five ranks, throughout.

Furniture, three ranks, ditto.

*Contra-trumpet, (unison with double diapason,) from C, } Reed stops.

*Grand Posaune, (unison with diapason,) from CC, . . . }

*Clarion, (unison with principal,) throughout, . . . }

The swell contains,—

Open diapason, throughout.

Stopped diapason, throughout.

- *Bourdon, from CC to B, } Octave below diapasons.
- *Double diapason from C, }
- Principal, throughout.
- *Fifteenth, throughout.
- *Sesquialtera, three ranks throughout.
- *Hautboy, throughout, }
- *Cornopean, throughout, }
- *Contra-fagotto, (unison with double diapason), throughout, } Reed stops.
- *Clarion, (unison with principal,) throughout, }

The choir organ contains,—

- Open diapason, from G.
- Stopped diapason, throughout.
- *Principal, throughout.
- Flute, (wood,) throughout.
- *Hohl flute, (metal,) (unison with diapason,) throughout.
- Cromorne, from C, (reed stop).

The pedal organ contains,—

- *Diapason, 32 feet.
- Sub-bass, 16 feet.

The instrument has five couplers :—

1. Couples the swell to the pedals from CC to middle D.
2. Couples the choir organ to the pedals.
3. Couples the great organ to the pedals.
4. Couples octave pedal to the great organ; that is, when this and the previous coupler are drawn out, the pedals act in octaves on the keyboard of the great organ; thus, the lowest pedal takes CCC and CC on the great organ.
5. Couples the swell to the great organ.

There are three composition pedals: one adds the chorus and reeds (*viz.* the principal, quint, twelfth, fifteenth, flute, sesquialtera, furniture, contra-trumpet, grand posaune and clarion) to the great organ; another adds the first five of these stops only; and the third takes off the effect of the other two.

Such, then, is a brief technical description of this magnificent instrument which now graces the Abbey Church of St. Peter, and those who can appreciate the excellence of a choral service as it should be performed, will not be slow in rendering their tribute to the character of the services which day by day resound with praise and thanksgiving from the walls of this old and solemn fane;—with psaltery, harp, and organs, “let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.”

ON SOME DISCOVERIES IN CONNECTION WITH THE ANCIENT TREASURY AT WESTMINSTER*.

THIS discovery was made by Mr. Scott when prosecuting his examination of the remains of the Confessor's building. It was first brought to my notice upwards of eleven years ago, when I was desired by that gentleman to assist him in examining what seemed a heap of rubbish, but which, when trodden on, was more "springy" than its external appearance justified. It was in a kind of cellar close to the cloister door of the Chapter-house underneath this chamber^b, into which no daylight could enter, and in a part of the chamber which consisted only of a narrow walled-up passage. Our examination was then only a slight one; but I saw enough to enable me to see that the bulk of this mass of "rubbish" appeared to consist of documents of a public nature that had probably by some accident been separated from the contents of the ancient treasury, which once occupied the adjoining chamber.

I have said that the mass to which my attention was drawn by Mr. Scott was at once seen to contain public documents. The requisite steps for their examination were taken, and I have made an official report upon the collection, of which a specimen is before you. The great bulk of the documents were found to be ordinary judicial writs, from the reign of Richard II. to that of Henry VI.; many of which were in very bad condition. They were mixed with a considerable quantity of ordinary brick rubbish, which has been carefully sorted over, and the documents, &c. picked out. Next to the writs, the greater portion of the mass consisted of the small turned wooden boxes, or "skip-pets," and fragments of similar boxes varying much in size. I may say that these little boxes are precisely similar to those ordinarily in use for depositing documents in the Royal Treasury, of which a few specimens still remain in the collection belonging to that department.

* Read in the Library of Westminster Abbey, Oct. 25, 1860. By Joseph Burtt, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

^b See Mr. Scott's paper, "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," p. 9, for the precise locality.

When placed in such small boxes they were generally packed in chests, drawers, or "forcers." About one hundred of these "skippets" were thus found; in twenty-four of which the contents agreed with the description written upon them, and were in excellent condition.

Generally speaking, they contained private deeds, to which private individuals only were parties; but transactions were constantly arising between the Crown and its subjects, by which such documents came into its hands. Among them, however, are a few instruments of more than ordinary interest. These are—Documents relating to the Order of the Holy Trinity for the redemption of captives; a Letter from King Edward III. under the Privy Seal, directing the transmission of certain muniments; the Excommunication of a Canon of Hereford; a Letter to King Edward II. respecting letters to the King's enemies in Scotland, found in a ship wrecked off Yarmouth; Pardon to the Nobles who had warred against the Despensers; and a Letter from Thomas de Wodestock, son of Edward III.

The descriptions upon the lids of the "skippets" are remarkable from the occurrence of a word which probably explains the occasion of their having found their place among the contents of the Treasury. Nearly all these endorsements have the word "dedictum," more or less contracted, following the name of the person to whom the deed refers. Rendering it as "forfeited" or "surrendered," it doubtless records a fact of which there is now no further evidence. Its occurrence upon similar boxes has not been noticed; but it was the custom to deposit forfeited documents in the Treasury.

In continuing his description of this portion of the building, Mr. Scott says:—

"I presume, therefore, that this, too, was a treasury; and I have a strong idea that it then formed a part of, and that its door was the entrance to, the pyx chamber; and it is possible that, after the robbery of the chamber before alluded to, the king, finding the terror of human skins offered no security, remodelled the chamber."

It is with reference to this great robbery of the royal treasury that I have to present to you a few particulars, which will, I trust, be of some interest. I cannot claim for them any great novelty, as they are nearly all in print, but in such print that their readability (to the uninitiated) is not much improved. The detailed account of the judicial investigations into this most daring and important robbery, (to the value of about two millions of money,) which has been printed in one of the Record publications, has not, I believe, been turned to any further account. It will be found, however, to be full of illustrations of the

manners and state of society of the times; and considering that we are now over the very chamber from which the treasure was taken, and that the whole of the immediate locality was the scene of the various circumstances which are most distinctly and minutely referred to in the account, I thought some of those details might be acceptable to you, as they bear closely upon the subject in hand, and the event itself perhaps accounts completely for the discovery now brought to your notice.

I shall make no attempt to trace the history of the ancient treasury. From the earliest times, and in many countries, the royal treasury had been associated with a place of worship. At Westminster the exchequer was held in a portion of the royal palace; the king and the abbot were generally much associated together; the palace and the monastery were contiguous; a strongly-built vault was at the king's service as a store room for his jewels not in general use, his plate and the cash that might not be wanted but for some great occasion. At later periods we have complete inventories of every article in the treasury, and most interesting they are, but there is none at this particular date. It is well known, however, that what is now called the "regalia" of the Crown, much household jewellery and plate, and articles of value and special rarity not required for the ordinary use of the sovereign or his household, or the State,—together with the more valuable records and many precious relics,—were kept in one of the royal treasuries. If such articles were required for ordinary use or for any special occasion, they were delivered out by, and to, the proper officer, under the safeguard of a carefully executed indenture, which set out minutely a description of the articles, and, if of the precious metals, their weight and estimated value. The king's treasury at Westminster was certainly so stored at the period in question. In the year 1303 Edward I. was preparing to take summary vengeance upon the Scotch for their so-called rebellion against his power. He probably anticipated a stubborn resistance, for he had consigned to the safe keeping of his treasury a large sum of money for the purpose of this war, and yet no subsidy had been granted since that two years previously. On the 14th of March he left Westminster; he lingered about the neighbourhood of London for a short time, and then advanced slowly northwards, reaching Newcastle on the 6th of May.

About the first of that month, or late in the preceding, (for the accounts vary a little,) the treasury was broken into, and the treasure carried off. From Linlithgow, on the 6th of June, the King issued his first writ directing the investigations into the matter; and among

the numerous documents of that year, and their elaborate entries of every kind of material and necessary of war at the opening of the campaign in Scotland, there occurs an entry of the payment of four pounds on the 20th of June, (equal to nearly sixty pounds of the present currency,) to one of the head officers of the chamber and his clerks, who went to London "to survey the treasury at Westminster, on account of the king's wardrobe near the Chapter-house at Westminster being broken open."

From Kynlos, on the 10th of October, a writ was directed to Roger Brabazon and other justices, reciting, that whereas the Abbot of Westminster and forty-eight brethren "*commonachi ejusdem domus*," (who are mentioned by name—the writ is printed in Rymer, ii. p. 938,) and thirty-two other persons there named, were indicted for the robbery and had been committed to the Tower,—and they assert they are falsely so charged and beg that the truth may be enquired into,—the said justices are directed to hear and determine the same.

And the King acted with his usual vigour in the matter. Writ after writ was addressed to the magistrates of London, Middlesex, and Surrey;—they knew him too well not to act vigorously upon them;—and terror was struck into the hearts of the robbers. Jurors were summoned from every district in which any portion of the crime appears to have been perpetrated, and we have (as I have already said) a tolerably complete account of all that took place. It must be borne in mind that the office of jurors was then to collect evidence, and give it and support it in every way. They were summoned, not as now from their *ignorance*, but for their *knowledge*, of the facts. In every ward in the city, in numerous hundred courts of the contiguous counties, evidence was given upon the subject.

The sacrist of Westminster having found certain cups, &c., spoke to some of the monks, and asked their advice thereon. They advised him to consult John de Foxle, and he, not knowing of the robbery, advised that the Abbot should maintain his right to them as being found within the liberty of the church. Other proceedings of the sacrist, if truly reported, leave no doubt of his guilt. William the Palmer, the keeper of the King's Palace, said he often saw the sacrist, the sub-prior, and other monks go in and out, early and late, about the time of the burglary, and they often carried many things towards the church—he knew not what. John Albon was the designer of certain utensils for breaking open the treasury—Alexander de Pershore threatened to kill him if he revealed the design—and on a certain day he saw the same Alexander and certain monks enter a certain boat of the Abbey at the

King's bridge, and take with them two large panniers covered with black leather, in which there was a great weight—he knew not what. The same persons returned late in another boat and landed at the Abbey mill. John de Ramage was suspected because he was often going in and coming out of the Abbey, and on a sudden he dressed himself very richly, bought horses and arms, and boasted that he was able to buy a town if he pleased. John de Linton scattered dirt on the ground near the treasury, and destroyed all traces of the robbers. It was he who sowed hemp in the cloister garth.

Many persons, especially goldsmiths and dealers, appear to have been implicated through the agency of the sacrist and the actual robbers. Richard de Podelicote went to Northampton and Colchester to get rid of some of the jewels there; and several worthy citizens of London are recorded as having purchased some "cheap" lots of precious stones and plate.

Just before the robbery some friends of William de Palais "met in a certain house within the close of the prison of the Fleet, together with a horseman and four ribald persons unknown, and there staid two nights eating and drinking, and in the middle of the third night they went armed towards Westminster and returned in the morning. This they did for two nights, and then came no more. And as the treasury was broken into about that time—say the jurors—they were suspected of the felony." Much of the treasure seems to have been hid in the immediate neighbourhood of the Abbey, to be carried off at the convenience of the thieves. A linen-draper at St. Giles had a large pannier full of broken vessels of gold and silver sent to him by certain monks of Westminster, about which he became so alarmed when the royal proclamation was published, that he gave it to a shepherd-boy to hide it in Kentish-town, where it was found. Some of the treasure found its way across the water, but was not traced, although the boatmen of the river from Lambeth to Kingston were examined. The case against the sacrist and the monks appears to be that the robbery could not have occurred without their knowledge, the gates of the Close must have been opened to admit some of the thieves, and *they* had the keys of them, while they refused admittance to a man who had bought the herbage of the cemetery, as they knew what was hid there, and that afterwards much treasure was known to have been taken to the sacrist's house, and claimed by him. I am sorry to say, too, that even their antecedents were brought forward to strengthen the case against them, for it is said there was "a great suspicion against the monks because four years ago an attempt was made to break open the treasury in the

cloister, which was enquired into, and the Abbot made peace with the King respecting it."

It seems that the Master of the Wardrobe himself, John de Drokenesford, was present in London, on the King's affairs, when the investigations into the robbery were commenced. On the 20th of June he came to Westminster, where he was informed of the robbery, and in the presence of Ralph de Sandwich, Keeper of the Tower of London, two Justices of the King's Bench, the Mayor of the city, the Prior of Westminster, and others of the neighbourhood, "he produced the keys of the said treasury, which had been kept in a canvas pouch sealed with the perfect seal of the King's cofferer, and carried by him; and he took the said keys and opened the doors of the treasury, and entered therein with the company assembled, and he found the treasury broken into, the chests and coffers broken open, and many goods carried away." An indenture, describing with great minuteness the exact state of the case, was drawn up; and in this curious document we get a complete view of the interior of the vaulted chamber below, and the anxious assembly investigating the extent of the damage that had been so ruthlessly committed. It gives three lists, headed "*Jocalia dimissa in thesaurario*," "*Jocalia furtive surrepta de thesaurario Domini Regis et postea re-inventa*," and "*Jocalia inventa in custodia Sacristæ Westm'*." It was evident, however, at once, that many more valuables might have been carried off had the robbers been more accomplished in their craft, for there appears a long and goodly list of jewels, rings and plate of various kinds, including the King's great crown and three other crowns embellished with precious stones, which had been left behind. The thieves had been embarrassed by the very richness of their spoil. The poor man who became a robber of the royal treasure because he had lost 14*l.* 17*s.*, and who had for his confederates the servants of the palace and abbey, might well have been afraid to seize the royal crown and other jewels.

It would have been simply impossible to have got rid of them or turned them to account. Obtained by the spoiling of a castle or the sack of a town, the contents of the treasury would have been a rich booty indeed, and would have afforded splendid trophies. As it was, and even at the reduced prices which robbers always obtain, had they not been disturbed, they would have been able to divide among themselves a sum equal to the whole proceeds of a subsidy levied upon the length and breadth of the land, and collected by the whole power of the State. That the robbers had not completed the work they had planned, is evident from the list of valuables which the party assembled

in the chamber found upon the floor. With a feeling approaching to horror they must have picked from the dirt at their feet "the ring with which the King was consecrated," and "the secret seal of the King's father," which were found among fragments of vessels of gold and silver, spoons, knives, and rings of various kinds.

There is little reason to doubt that a large quantity of the treasure—that consisting of the plate and jewels—was recovered. One of the principal thieves, Richard de Podelicote, was found with £2,200 worth in his possession. This man himself subsequently confessed the whole matter, and so did another of the robbers. Their accounts are not quite consistent, which is usually the case. Podelicote is always spoken of as the great culprit, and in his confession he takes the whole blame of the matter, as well as of a previous robbery of the conventual plate from the refectory. I will read a small portion of his story:—

"He was a travelling merchant for wool, cheese, and butter, and was arrested in Flanders for the King's debts in Bruges, and there were taken from him 14*l.* 17*s.*, for which he sued in the King's Court at Westminster at the beginning of August in the thirty-first year, and then he saw the condition of the refectory of the Abbey, and saw the servants bringing in and out silver cups and spoons, and mazers. So he thought how he might obtain some of those goods, as he was so poor on account of his loss in Flanders, and so he spied about all the parts of the Abbey. And on the day when the King left the place for Barnes, on the following night, as he had spied out, he found a ladder at a house which was near the gate of the Palace towards the Abbey, and put that ladder to a window of the Chapter-house, which he opened and closed by a cord; and he entered by this cord, and thence he went to the door of the refectory, and found it closed with a lock, and he opened it with his knife and entered, and there he found six silver hanaps in an ambry behind the door, and more than thirty silver spoons in another ambry, and the mazer hanaps under a bench near together: and he carried them all away, and closed the door after him without shutting the lock. And having spent the proceeds by Christmas he thought how he could rob the King's treasury. And as he knew the ways of the Abbey, and where the treasury was, and how he could get there, he began to set about the robbery eight days before Christmas with the tools which he provided for it, viz., two 'tarrers,' great and small knives and other small 'engines' of iron, and so was about the breaking open during the night hours of eight days before Christmas to the quinzain of Easter, when he first had entry on the night of a Wednesday, the eve of St. Mark (April 24); and all the day of St. Mark he stayed in there and arranged what he would carry away, which he did the night after, and the night after that, and the remainder he carried away with him out of the gate behind the church of St. Margaret, and put it at the foot of the wall beyond the gate, covering it with earth, and there were there pitchers, cups with feet and covers. And also he put a great pitcher with stones and a cup in a certain tomb. Besides he put three pouches full of jewels and vessels, of which one was 'hanaps' entire and in pieces. In another a great crucifix and jewels, a case of silver with gold spoons. In the third 'hanaps,' nine dishes and

saucers, and an image of our Lady in silver-gilt, and two little pitchers of silver. Besides he took to the ditch by the mews a pot and a cup of silver. Also he took with him spoons, saucers, spice dishes of silver, a cup, rings, brooches, stones, crowns, girdles, and other jewels which were afterwards found with him. And he says that what he took out of the treasury he took at once out of the gate near St. Margaret's Church, and left nothing behind within it."

The other robber who confessed speaks of a number of persons—two monks, two foresters, two knights, and about eight others—being present at the "debrasure." His account, too, makes it a week later than the other.

The affair was evidently got up between the sacrist of Westminster, Richard de Podelicote, and the keeper of the Palace, with the aid of their immediate servants and friends. Doubtless they speculated upon comparative impunity, while the King was so far away and occupied on such important matters, and they arranged accordingly. An extraordinary instance of the amount of cunning and foresight exercised by the robbers is shewn by the circumstance of the cemetery—the green plot enclosed by the cloisters—being *sown with hemp* early in the spring, "so that the said hemp should grow high enough by the time of the robbery that they might hide the treasure there, and the misdeed be unknown." This shews that the plot was deeply laid and the crime long prepared for. From the confession it will be seen that upwards of four months were consumed in making an entry into the treasury.

Doubtless the criminals had their deserts, though the record does not give the sentences passed upon them.

But it is time that we returned to the collection before us, and I will now attempt to shew how it is connected with the tale we have heard.

In some further portions of his lecture Mr. Scott describes the low vault which is outside the pyx chamber, and how by scientific induction he had arrived at the conclusion that this exceedingly enigmatical portion of the structure had once been a part of the treasury, and had been perhaps separated from it in consequence of the great robbery. I think this conclusion, arrived at inductively, is fully borne out by the documentary evidence.

I have already noticed the Indenture by which the keeper of the wardrobe acknowledged the receipt of the recovered treasure. I think it may be safely inferred from this that the articles were at once removed to one of the other treasuries—probably that of the royal wardrobe in the Tower. It was doubtless then decided to make

alterations in the chamber for the purpose of ensuring the safety of its future contents, as the structure itself had been attacked by the robbers, and seriously injured. Its restoration to a state of strength and security appears to me to be shewn by an entry upon the Pipe Roll of the succeeding year, where the Sheriff of London and Middlesex claims 5*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* for "paving the house of the treasury of the King's wardrobe below the Chapter-house of Westminster, and repairing the doors and other things therein." This amount (upwards of seventy-five pounds of our present currency) was considerable, and would be sufficient for the alterations which appear to have been then made. Perhaps the terms used in describing the repairs may be thought to indicate *how* the treasury had been entered by the robbers.

When it was first re-occupied does not appear, but there is evidence that it was so in the year 1327, as there is an indenture of that year in existence specifying the delivery of the contents of that treasury from an outgoing treasurer. The alterations made consist of the building of the wall across the northern side from east to west, at the intersection of one of the central columns, shutting out a window in the east wall, the doorway in the Chapter-house vestibule, and the steps which gave access to the dormitory. It was the southern portion only (now the pyx chamber) which was subsequently used as the treasury, though probably the occupation of both continued in the royal officers. The collection, then, was found in what was the northern portion of the ancient treasury chamber.

In conclusion, I would wish to draw attention to a few of the pieces of iron-work now exhibited, which appear to me to have belonged to some large leather bag, or "forcer" as it was called. One of these bags, characteristically ornamented, is still in the pyx chamber. There are notices of their being used for the conveyance of the stolen treasure, and they are referred to as regular places of deposit in Bishop Stapleton's Calendar.

THE MONUMENTS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY AS A MUSEUM OF SCULPTURE*.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY may justly be appreciated as a museum of British sculpture, offering the earliest examples of the sculptor's art, from its erection in the thirteenth century, and continued to the present day.

Although it contains some works by the hands of foreigners, yet, as their skill was employed in commemoration of British sovereigns and British worthies, the designation that it is a national collection, or museum of national sculpture, may fairly be accepted, because, although they are the productions of foreign artists, they were unquestionably executed in the British dominions.

In the reign of Henry III. the present edifice was begun on the ruins of a former erection; every monument it now contains commences from this epoch.

The first statue which demands attention is that of Henry III., in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, a recumbent figure cast in brass, and the earliest known to have been cast in England. On the adjoining tomb to this is placed the recumbent figure of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I. Both these statues have been reputed to be the works of Pietro Cavallini, who was supposed to have come here from Italy for the purpose. [But from the "Accounts of the Executors of Queen Eleanor," printed for the Roxburgh Club by Beriah Botfield, Esq., in 1841, we find that the statues were executed by Master William Torel, who probably gave the design for the whole tomb; the marble work was executed by "Richard de Crundale." Mr. Hudson Turner, who edited these accounts for Mr. Botfield, conjectured that Master William Torel was the same as Master William the Florentine painter, employed by Henry III. Among the sculptors of the Eleanor crosses were "William of Ireland" and "Alexander of Abingdon." Torel, or Tyrrell, was a common English name at that period, and the sculptor of these figures may therefore have been an Englishman. Other figures nearly equally fine at Wells and Lincoln are of about the same period.]

* Read in the Abbey Church, Oct. 25, 1860. By Henry Mogford, F.S.A.

Considering the extraordinary beauty of this statue of Queen Eleanor, it would be gratifying to our natural feeling, or pride, if it were authenticated to be the work of a native artist.

It merits in the highest degree every praise; the beauty of the features and the elegance of the hands are not surpassed, if equalled even, by any similar work in the Abbey. The small heads of two angels on the canopy at the head of the figure are replete with the most charming sweetness and innocence of expression.

The effigies of Edmund Crouchback and of Aymer de Valence follow the series in order of date. No record exists of the authors of these remarkable monuments, which is to be regretted, as the mutilated remains of the small statuettes, called *pleureurs*, (or weepers,) in the niches beneath, indicate a grand dignity and breadth of treatment.

Hitherto no record or tradition naming the authors of the numerous fine recumbent figures of our sovereigns or others has been discovered, some of them wondrously enamelled, until the name of Torrigiano appears. He erected the magnificent tomb in the chapel of Henry VII., and is the sculptor of the effigies of that sovereign and his wife, and of the figures of cherubim at the angles. Another of Torrigiano's works is that of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. These productions of Torrigiano's skill are not of a very high order of art comparatively. The tradition that he broke the nose of Michael Angelo in a fit of jealousy at the transcendent talents of the greatest of modern sculptors, has certainly foundation for the motive by comparison of their respective abilities.

Passing over the intermediate period of time until the reign of James I., the first authenticated works of sculpture in the Abbey appear to be those of Nathaniel Stone, a native of Exeter. According to Walpole, he was paid 4s. 10d. daily while in the King's employ. The recumbent statues of Queen Elizabeth and of Mary Queen of Scots are attributed to him; it is certain that he made the monuments of Spenser, Frances Hollis, and the Countess of Buckingham.

Of the famous sculptors of a later date, the most important in the series are Roubiliac and Rysbrach. Scheemacker is also of the epoch, although inferior to the two preceding artists.

Roubiliac's grandest works are in the Abbey. The monuments of his skill here are those of Handel, his last work, and of the Duke of Argyle in Poets' Corner, that of Sir Peter Warren in the north transept, and the celebrated one in St. John's Chapel to Mr. and Mrs. Nightingale.

All the statues to these monuments are worthy of being rigidly

studied, and the result will surely tend to a very high estimation of this artist's merits.

The Nightingale monument, as it is usually called, demands an inquiry of another nature. Does not the embodying or manifestation of the awfulness of death in the form of a human skeleton enveloped in drapery, border on absurdity, or even profaneness? It is both an æsthetic question and one of higher feeling, of religious awe.

Rysbrach may be well studied in the two monuments in the nave, at the entrance of the choir, of Sir Isaac Newton and of the second Earl of Stanhope.

The statue of Shakespeare, in Poets' Corner, is a favourable specimen by Scheemacker.

The names of other sculptors here comprise a series of great extent, mostly native. A work by Grinling Gibbons, in the north aisle of the nave, is not worthy of his reputation. Quellinus and Coysevox indicate a foreign origin, and Hubert le Sœur, who made the equestrian statue at Charing Cross of Charles I., has also a specimen of his art in the Abbey.

To come down to our own time, there are fine works by the familiar names of Bacon, Flaxman, Chantrey, Nollekens, Westmacott, Banks, and others. Of living sculptors of distinguished merit may be cited Baily, Gibson, Calder Marshall, and several more.

The portrait statues are doubly interesting, first, because they represent the features of the individuals, and secondly, the accuracy of the costume of the times. The features are mostly well preserved, excepting those only of the Crusaders and of the Countess of Lancaster, in the choir, which have much suffered. Some few of the portrait statues are habited in the Roman costume of former times. In future ages, nevertheless, antiquaries will be sorely puzzled at the fanciful envelopes given by the sculptors of our days, as exemplified in the statue of the late Sir Robert Peel, by Gibson of Rome.

Among the sculptured statues forming the decoration or exemplification of the virtues of the several individuals, there will be seen an abundance of angels and cherubs; every virtue is personified in marble to excess. Figures of Fame are blowing trumpets. In this Christian church there are statues of Minerva, Neptune, Hercules, with other pagan deities; charity children are not omitted; and to complete the variety, there are not wanting Negroes and Red Indians. There are here also a great number of statues and statuettes, either of attendants, children of the deceased, saints or other, as weepers over the deceased.

Nor are animals forgotten; a couple of lions by Wilton are on the

monument of General Wolfe. Two magnificent specimens of this kind of animals by Flaxman, on the monument to the memory of Captain Montague, deserve the highest encomium; it is at the west end of the north aisle.

The sculptures which may be considered as adjuncts to the architecture are very numerous, and consist of a considerable number of saints in niches or on brackets. Of these, worthy of special notice, are two statues now existing in the chapter-house, representing the Annunciation; they are of a very simple and of archaic character—probably their execution dates from the erection of this part of the Abbey. There are equally in the upper spandrils of the north transept angels of grand character, nearly life size. Casts have been lately taken of these, which may be seen to advantage where they are for the present placed, in the triforium, by those who are disposed to perambulate this part of the sacred edifice. Here will be found many singular and interesting sculptured corbels.

The chapel of Henry VII. alone contains more than one hundred statues of saints in niches, and busts of angels on the cornice that runs round the chapel and part of the side aisles; the carvings to the seats are of great variety and excellence in execution. Some of these carvings represent sacred subjects, whilst others are of a profane character.

The chantry enclosing the tomb of Henry V. is also profusely decorated with statues and statuettes in niches, as well as with *bassi relievi*. One is said to represent the coronation of the sovereign. The whole are deeply imbued with a good feeling for fine art.

[Of about the same date are the sculptures in the frieze of the screen that separates the chapel of St. Edward from the choir, and which represent in fourteen compartments the principal occurrences of the Confessor's life. The figures of this composition are of small size, very simple in execution.]

To resume, and give some idea of the immense amount of the wealth of sculptural art herein contained, it may be briefly stated that the Abbey possesses sixty-two recumbent statues of life size; several of these are of bronze, and have been highly gilt or richly enamelled, the remains of this decoration being still visible. There are forty-six portrait statues, life size or colossal, six sitting and six kneeling portrait statues, and ninety-three busts or medallion portraits.

Of allegorical statues, already alluded to, there are 204, and beyond this vast amount an almost unlimited number of *bassi* and *alti-relievi* corbels and spandrils richly sculptured of all epochs, besides the multi-

tude of heraldic representations of lions, dogs, griffins, and other animals, either natural or imaginative.

I trust it will be admitted that we possess in this magnificent Abbey a museum of sculpture eminently national, unequalled in extent in any other place or country, of surpassing beauty, and of the highest artistic excellence.

The study of this immense collection will afford intense gratification to the historian, the antiquary, the archæologist, and the lover of fine art. The public feeling is becoming daily more awakened to the treasures we possess, and to the determination to preserve them to our posterity.

ON THE ORDER OF THE BATH*.

MR. HUNTER remarked that the history of the institution of the Order of the Bath may be divided into three periods: the first ending with the coronation of King Charles II., when for the last time Knights of the Bath were made according to the ancient forms; the second commencing from the revival of the Order by His Majesty King George I., on the 18th May, 1725; and the third, on its re-organization and enlargement by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the 2nd of January, 1815, in the reign of His Majesty George III. In the first period it was only customary to make Knights of the Bath at the coronations of sovereigns or their queens-consort, or on the creation of the Prince of Wales or the Duke of York. There was a creation of knights on the marriage of the Duke of York in 1477; and again in 1501, on the marriage of the Prince of Wales.

The earliest mention since the Conquest of the ceremony of bathing at the creation of a knight appears to be that of Geoffrey, son of Fulk, Count of Anjou, who on being contracted to marry the daughter of King Henry I., was knighted by that monarch at Rouen; and it is evident by the language of the chronicler that the solemnities then observed were usual in all similar cases.

The first name on the list having pretensions to being a chronological one, is Sir Thomas Esturmy, who was created on the 17th of July, 1204; after which, at different periods, sometimes upwards of twenty, at others more than fifty or sixty, were summoned to receive the honour. The ceremony at that time was no small undertaking. It is fully described by Anstis; and in Bysse's edition of Upton there is a series of engravings of the ceremony copied from original drawings, which Anstis conjectured to have been made in the reign of King Edward IV. or King Henry VII.

Upon the accession of Queen Mary a new form was observed, and Letters Patent were issued on the 17th of October, 1553, appointing Henry Earl of Arundel to exercise everything on behalf of Her Majesty, to make such persons knights as shall be named by her, so as not to exceed the number of threescore.

Queen Elizabeth followed the example of her predecessor, and de-

* Read in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Oct. 25, 1860. By Mr. John Hunter, F.S.A.

puted the Earl of Arundel, then Lord Steward of the Household, to confer knighthood upon so many as she should name, so as not to exceed thirty. King James appointed the large number of sixty-two to be made knights at his coronation. Fifty-nine were appointed at the coronation of Charles I.; and on the return of Charles II., in May, 1660, he was attended by Knights of the Bath and their Esquires. At his coronation he appointed sixty-eight persons to be created. This creation was the last until the Order was newly arranged by George I. in 1725.

The first notice of any insignia or badge being worn round the neck of a Knight of the Bath is in 1614. John Lord Harrington of Exton, who received that dignity at the coronation of James I., died in 1613; and in the following year the sermon preached at his funeral was published, illustrated by an engraving of the jewel worn by the deceased nobleman as a Knight of the Bath.

One of the knights made at the coronation of Charles II. was Sir Edward Walpole, (grandfather of Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Orford,) on whose badge the present motto occurs.

Although the badge was directed to be worn from the neck, it would appear that the Knights of the Bath imitated the Knights of the Garter by wearing it under the arm, as they are represented in some portraits of the time with the riband over the right shoulder, such persons having been made knights at the coronation of King Charles I. in 1625, or King Charles II. in 1661.

The second period of the Order was when, by the advice of Sir Robert Walpole, it was appointed there should be a Great-Master and thirty-six Knights, the first Great-Master being John Duke of Montague; and,

The third period of the Order was from its extension to three classes, on the 2nd of January, 1815, which was rendered necessary in consequence of the conclusion of the protracted but glorious war in 1814.

On the 14th of April, 1847, Her Majesty was pleased to enlarge the Order, and to direct that it should consist of the Sovereign and a Great-Master, and of 952 Companions or Members, to be divided into three classes. The Order was again enlarged on the 31st of January, 1859, it being then ordained that the total number of Companions should be 985. The first class to consist of seventy-five members, to be designated Knights Grand Cross; the second class to consist of 160, styled Knights Commanders; and the third class of 750, to be designated Companions of the Order.

ANCIENT ARMS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

THE following list of ancient arms remaining in the Abbey is printed from Sir Harris Nicolas' Roll of Arms *temp.* Hen. III. It was drawn up by Mr. Willement.

IN THE SOUTH AISLE, ON THE WALL, BEGINNING FROM THE TRANSEPT AND PROCEEDING WESTWARD.

- No. 1. . . . a cross patonce between five birds or*.
This shield is sculptured. No inscription remains to it.
2. Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale or.
Sculptured. The inscription gone.
3. *Destroyed.*
4. Or, four pallets gules.
Sculptured. No inscription.
5. Gules, seven mascles or, 3, 3, 1.
Sculptured. No inscription.
6. Quarterly gules and or, a bendlet sinister, and a narrow bordure, sable; over all, a label of five points argent.
Sculptured. The inscription gone.
7. Argent, a lion rampant gules, crowned or; a bordure sable, charged with twenty-two bezants.
Sculptured. No inscription.
8. Gules, three lions rampant, 2 and 1, argent.
Sculptured. No inscription.
9. Vaire, or and gules.
The sculptured coat has been defaced, and this has been painted subsequently in its place.
"GUILL': C: DE FERRARIIS DE DERBIA."
10. Azure, six lions rampant, 3, 2, 1, or.
Painted only.
"GUIL: DE LÖGA-SPATA C. SARA."
- 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, *have all been destroyed.*
17. Argent, a fess gules between three popinjays, proper.
Painted only. No inscription.

* Not as the martlet is now represented, but with beaks, legs, and long tails.

No. 18. Quarterly, per fess indented, argent and gules.

Painted only. No inscription.

19. Per pale, and a lion rampant. . . .

Only painted, and the colours not visible.

"ROGÈ DE MONTEACUTO^b."

20. two bars. . . .

The colours destroyed.

"ROGERUS DE VENABLES."

IN THE NORTH AISLE.

1. an eagle displayed^c. . . .

Sculptured. No colours or inscription remain.

2. Azure semée de lis, or.

Sculptured. No inscription.

3. Or, three chevrons gules.

Sculptured. No inscription.

4. Or, a cross gules.

Sculptured. No inscription.

5. Gules, a lion rampant, double queued, argent.

Sculptured. No inscription.

6. Chequy or and azure.

Sculptured. No inscription.

7. *No arms or inscription remains.*

8. Gules, a cross vaire, argent and azure.

Sculptured. No inscription.

9. *Neither arms nor inscription.*

10. Quarterly gules and or; in the first quarter a mullet argent.

Only painted on the wall. No inscription.

11. No arms remain; but part of an inscription, "JOĀNNES."

12. Or, a maunche gules.

Painted only.

"HENRICUS DE HASTINGES."

There is little doubt of the shields having been originally continued to the west end, but no others remain on this side.

T. W.

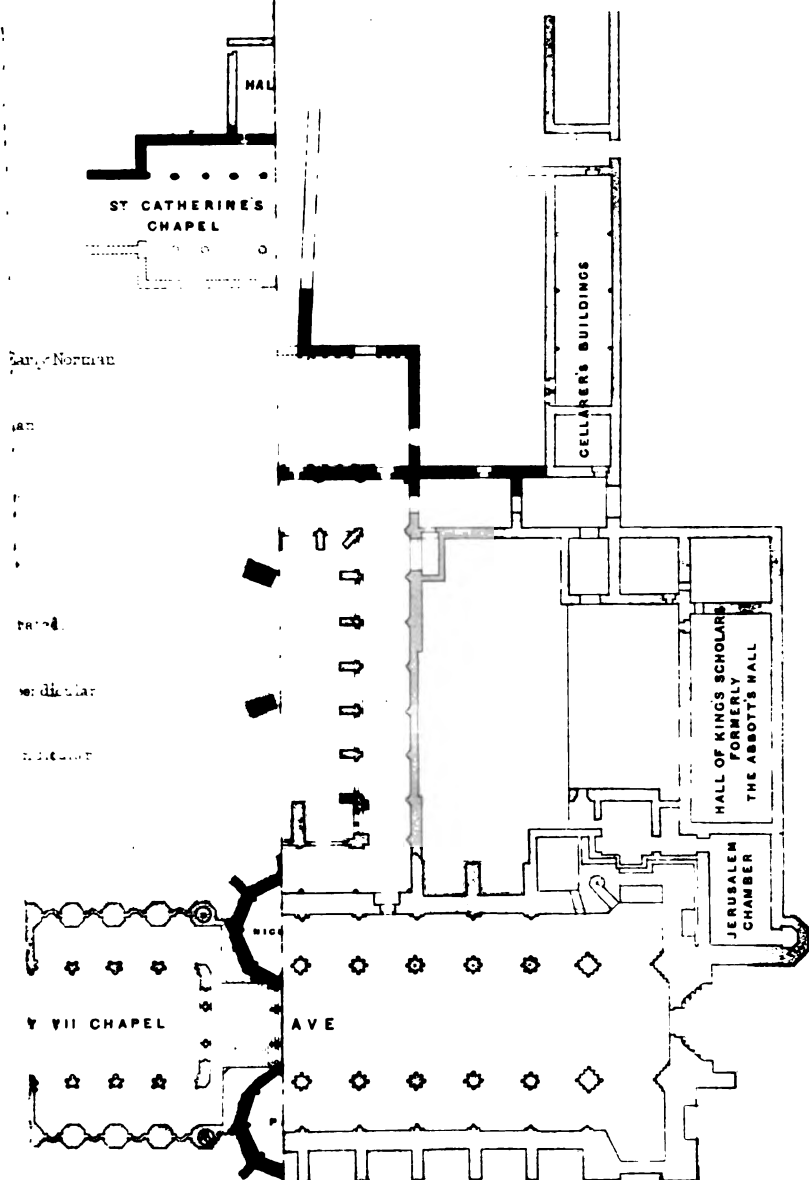
^b Evidently an error in the coat or inscription.

^c It is not quite evident whether this eagle had a single or a double head, as it has been defaced, but it is presumed to have been single.

*A Chronological Table of the Abbots, Priors, Bishops, and Deans
Westminster, from the presumed Foundation of the Abbey Church
604, to the year 1863.*

ABBOTS, PRIORS, &c.	Elected	ABBOTS, PRIORS, &c.	Elected
ABBOT.		Simon de Kyrcheston	13
Orthbright	604	Simon Langham (afterwards Cardinal)	13
PRIORS ^a .		Nicholas Litlington	13
<i>Germanus</i>		William de Colchester	13
<i>Aldred</i>		Richard Harweden	14
<i>Syward</i>	675	Edmund Kyrton	14
<i>Osmund</i>	684	George Norwych	14
<i>Selred</i>	726	Thomas Milyng	14
<i>Ogyar</i>	744	John Esteney	14
<i>Brithstan</i>	765	George Fascet	14
ABBOTS.		John Islip	15
Ordbright, or Alubriht		William Boston, or Benson (afterwards Dean)	15
Alfwius	796	BISHOP.	
Alfwius II.	820	Thomas Thirleby	15
Algar	846	DEANS.	
Eadmerus		William Benson	1540
Alfnod		Richard Cox, or Coxo	1549
Alfrie, or Alfwold	940	Hugh Weston	1553
Wlsius, or Wulsinus	(?) 960	ABBOT.	
Alfwy, or Aldsius		John Feckenham	1556
Wulnoth	1017	DEANS.	
Edwyn	1049	William Bill	1560
Goiffridus, or Geoffry	1068	Gabriel Goodman	1560
Vitalis	1076	Lancelot Andrewes	1601
Gislebertus Crispinus, or Gilbert Crispin	1082	Richard Neile	1606
Herebert, or Herbert	1121	George Montaine, or Mountain	1610
Gervaise de Blois	1140	Robert Tounson	1617
Laurentius, or Lawrence	1159	John Williams (Lord Keeper)	1620
Walter	1175	Richard Steward	1644
William Postard	(?) 1191	John Earles	1660
Ralph Papyllon, or de Arundel	1200	John Dolben	1662
William de Humez, or Humeto	1214	Thomas Sprat	1683
Richard de Berkynge	1222	Francis Atterbury	1713
Richard de Crokesley	1246	Samuel Bradford	1723
Philip de Lewesham	1258	Joseph Wilcocks	1731
Richard de Ware, or Warren	1258	Zachary Pearce	1756
Walter de Wenlock	1284	John Thomas	1768
Richard de Kedyngton, or de Sudbury	1308	Samuel Horaley	1793
William de Curtlyngton, Carthlington, or Curlington	1315	William Vincent	1802
Thomas Henley	1333	John Ireland	1816
		Thomas Turton	1843
		Samuel Wilberforce	1845
		William Buckland	1846
		Richard Chenevix Trench	1856

^a This list of Priors is of doubtful authenticity.



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